THE HISTORY OF AYDER ALI KHAN, NABOB-BAHADER:

OR,

New Memoirs concerning the *Eaſt-Indies*.

WITH HISTORICAL NOTES.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE proper names of places, perſons, and things, are for the moſt part given, in this Tranſlation, according to the orthography of the original; and a few expreſſions that relate to the ſtate of affairs at the time the Hiſtory was compoſed are ſtill retained, though ſubſequent events, particularly the death of Ayder, have rendered them leſs applicable at preſent.

THE

AUTHOR's PREFACE.

THOUGH it is not uſual to write the hiſtory of a living prince, the great diſtance which, in the preſent inſtance, permits the hiſtorian to ſpeak with freedom, will ſerve as an excuſe for the infringement of ſo juſt a rule, in the eyes of thoſe who may read the following ſheets without prejudice. The writer has adhered to the ſtricteſt impartiality, in relating the exploits of the moſt famous conqueror India has beheld ſince the time of Thamas Kouli Khan; a prince very much ſuperior to that uſurper, as well for the extent of his genius as for the propriety of his conduct, which far exceeds that of the other Indian ſovereigns.

It will be eaſily perceived that the Author has neither endeavoured to flatter nor to calumniate. If the Engliſh ſhould find that they are not ſpared, it will not be in their power to reproach him with having invented any untruth: and there are very many individuals of that nation, who know that he could ſpeak much more effectually to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh adminiſtration in India, if he thought it neceſſary to reveal ſuch particulars as he himſelf has ſeen.

Whether the tyranny which theſe men have exerciſed in India be a crime of their nation, or purely their own, is of no importance to the Author in his capacity as an Hiſtorian, ſince he has not made any reflections on the ſubject in the enſuing pages.

The Generals Coote, Smith, and Goddard, are ſpoken of with the juſtice they deſerve; which circumſtance ought to be of weight to vindicate his impartiality from the reproaches that intereſted and prejudiced

diced readers will doubtleſs be ready to make.

If any of his recitals ſhould be contrary to the ideas of certain perſons acquainted with the ſame events, he begs they will pleaſe to make a diſtinction between the facts he himſelf has been witneſs to, and thoſe he could only learn from the information of others.

The perſons cited in the courſe of the hiſtory, and who may be now in Europe, are appealed to with confidence to aſſert the truth of what is here attributed to them. With regard to other facts, it is requeſted that they will believe this narration in preference to what may have been written to them by men who have not been in the ſame confidential ſituation as the Author, and have likewiſe reaſons for diſguiſing the truth, that can have no influence upon him.

The true dignity and importance of hiſtory is placed in truth. It has not there-

fore

fore been in his power to ſpare ſuch of his countrymen as have behaved unworthily: but, out of conſideration for their reſpectable families, he has been careful to omit mentioning their names; which is the only tenderneſs he has indulged himſelf in. The following work is not ſtrictly confined to the actions of Ayder Ali Khan; but is likewiſe intended to give an accurate idea of the revolutions that have taken place in India, previous to the aggrandizement of that great prince: for the purpoſe of ſatisfying the reader on this head, it is thought proper to prefix an Hiſtorical Introduction, that will render him acquainted with the genius and character of the perſonages ſpoken of.

The account of particular circumſtances relating to the Life of Ayder Ali Khan, that follows the Introduction, gives an idea of his perſon, conſidered as a man, a general, and a ſoldier. The Author hopes that it will ſerve to make the private character of the Nabob better known than

thoſe

thoſe of moſt Europ̃ean ſovereigns. A perfect acquaintance with the men that ſurround a king, will often give the moſt accurate knowledge of his own manners and inclinations. With this intention, the portraits of ſome of the relations as well as of the intimate friends of Ayder are given.

There has not yet appeared any work that explains the principles of government of the princes now reigning in Indoſtan: it is therefore hoped that the Public will receive with pleaſure the detail here given of the eſtabliſhments, laws, cuſtoms, and forms of government that prevail in Ayder's dominions. The Engliſh have lately publiſhed the laws and cuſtoms of the Hindoos: but Indoſtan has been ſo long governed by Mahometan princes, that this code of the ancient Hindoo laws inſtructs us in the preſent government of India, nearly as much as the laws of the ancient Druids are capable of explaining the adminiſtration and government of the preſent French nation.

The Author can with juſtice indulge the hope that theſe Memoirs will not be confounded with thoſe rhapſodies that have appeared within the laſt three or four years, under the title of *Eſſais ſur la Vie*, and *Abrégés de l'Hiſtoire d'Hyder Ali*, which were evidently fabricated by people who have not only been totally unacquainted with Ayder, but even entirely without any memoirs, except thoſe tales that have occaſionally appeared in the public papers. From theſe materials, copied with ſervility, they have formed compoſitions which they have had the aſſurance to offer as original to the public, under a variety of pompous titles. It was from a view of theſe inaccurate and fictitious compilations, that the Author was induced to write the Hiſtory he now preſents to the world. As an eye-witneſs of part of his conqueſts, and of the glory that ſurrounds him, he thought it a kind of duty incumbent on him to make this ſovereign known, at an inſtant in which he has become ſo intereſting to Europe, and to France in particular.

It

It will be perceived that the orthography of this work differs much from that of the public papers, which always write Hyder, inſtead of Ayder, his true name. We have the authority of M. Buſſi for this mode of ſpelling, as may be ſeen by conſulting the Memoirs of that gentleman, who reſided many years at Ayder Abad, and could not be deceived in the name; any more than others who have been in Ayder's army, where the anſwer to *Qui vive?* or, *Who are you for?* is always, *Ayder Ali Khan, Nabob Bahader.* The true reaſon of this is, that all our newswriters copy from the Engliſh papers, who write *Hy*, which in their language is pronounced like the French *Ay*. The Engliſh, in writing a foreign proper name, uſe ſuch a combination of letters as gives the original ſound to an Engliſh reader. And ſince writing is the picture of ſpeech, or the art of ſpeaking to the eyes, why ſhould not our tranſlators follow their example?

THE HISTORY OF AYDER ALI KHAN.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE we enter upon the Hiſtory of Ayder Ali Khan, it is neceſſary to give an account of part of thoſe revolutions, which the invaſion of India by Nadir Sha, king of Perſia, commonly called Thamas Kouli Khan, occaſioned in that extenſive empire; and more eſpecially in thoſe provinces that were the theatre of the various ſcenes we are about to relate.

Nadir Sha, previous to his quitting Delhi for the purpoſe of returning to his own ſtates, concluded a treaty with Mehemet Sha, emperor of the Moguls, in which it was ordained that the charge of Grand Viſir, and all the Subaſhips or viceroyalties *, then nine in number, ſhould be

* The title, power, and prerogatives of a Suba cannot be better defined than by tranſlating the word into the terms Vicar-general

hereditary in the families at that time in poſſeſſion of them. This article was doubtleſs a ſtroke of politics in the Perſian conqueror, to divide the force of an empire, whoſe ſtrength was ſufficiently exhibited in the army of 1,200,000 men aſſembled to oppoſe him; and which, under an emperor of another diſpoſition, might revenge the inſult ſuſtained by Mehemet Sha. But it is likewiſe to be preſumed, that he had previouſly ſettled this point; and in putting it in execution, he only forwarded the ambitious views of Nizam El Moulouc, Grand Viſir and Suba of Decan, who, in revenge for an affront put upon him by Mehemet Sha, had invited the king of Perſia into the empire, and had been the means of preſerving him from the probable effects of ſo raſh an undertaking.

The Subaſhip of Decan, then in poſſeſſion of Nizam El Moulouc, conſtituted at leaſt a third part of the Mogul empire. All the country that extends from the gulf of Cambaya to Bengal, formed part of this Subaſhip, whoſe chief cities were Aurengabade and Ayderabade; and it extended to all the coaſts of the hither peninſula, from Cambaya to the gulf of Bengal.

This vaſt government was divided into many others. Among theſe were many kingdoms governed by their own kings and particular laws, being no more than tributaries to the empire; except that they were obliged to furniſh a certain number of troops to the army of the Suba, which the kings themſelves very often eſteemed it

neral of the Empire. For this charge beſtows a ſupremacy over the kings and vaſſals of the empire, which the Suba exerciſes in the ſame manner as the emperor himſelf. Similar to this would be the power of a Vicar-general of the Empire in Italy, if this dignity were at preſent poſſeſſed of activity and energy.

it an honour to lead in perſon. The principal of theſe kingdoms were thoſe of the Marattas, of Canara, and of Mayſſour.

Many of theſe kingdoms and ſtates were ſcarcely in ſubjection; and among them Canara, a country difficult of acceſs from its numerous foreſts and mountains. The Marattas were no otherwiſe ſubjected, than by means of the treaty with the Suba, reſpecting the payment of the Chotay, or fifth part of the revenue of Decan, which the emperor Aurengzebe had granted them; and the great population of their country furniſhed them with numerous and powerful armies, eſpecially of cavalry, whoſe incurſions were not eaſily checked: And laſtly there were ſtates, which, though comprized in the Subaſhip of Decan, were not yet ſubjected. Such were the ſmall kingdom of Calicut, or of the Samorins, and the other ſtates of the black princes on the coaſt of Malabar; into which the armies of the Mogols were unable to penetrate, by reaſon of the narrow and difficult entrances through foreſts and mountains.

Beſides the kingdoms and other tributary countries, the Subaſhip of Decan comprehended ſeveral governments, of greater or leſs magnitude, which were not hereditary, but in the gift of the Suba; whoſe nomination, however, required to be confirmed by the emperor.

When the Subaſhips became hereditary, the Subas pretended to the right of irrevocably nominating thoſe governors, which the Europeans call Nabobs, without the neceſſity of any confirmation from the court of Dehli.

The Nabobſhip of Arcot * held the firſt rank among all thoſe governments comprized in the Subaſhip of Decan, as well for its extent as for its riches and population. For it contains all the country, known by the name of Coromandel, that lies between the mountains and the ſea coaſt, from Cape Comorin to Kiſna, a river which, after running over a courſe of more than five hundred leagues, all within the Subaſhip of Decan, falls into the ſea near Mazulipatnam.

This government, though held only at the pleaſure of the Suba, had been very long in poſſeſſion of the ſame family, a branch of the Seyds, or deſcendants of Mahomet, by Ali his couſin and Fatima his daughter. The princes of this illuſtrious family were adored by their ſubjects, for having rendered the country rich and populous by the mildneſs and moderation of their government.

Several lords of the ſame family, as the Nabobs † of Veilour, Vandevachi, &c. poſſeſſed ſmall

* This Hiſtory of the Nabobſhip of Arcot is very different from that given by the Editor of the Memoirs aſcribed to general Lawrence. It is neceſſary, in that work, to diſtinguiſh the reports of the Author himſelf from the account of the expeditions of general Lawrence. The latter is generally true, excepting that the French forces are magnified in number, and the Engliſh diminiſhed; ſo as frequently to produce contradictions. As to the Editor of thoſe Memoirs, it will be ſufficient to form a judgment of him, if we recollect that he affirms, that, previous to the time in which M. Buſſi followed Mouzaferzing, the Europeans were ignorant of what paſſed at the court of the Indian Princes, their neareſt neighbours. He affirms likewiſe, in his introduction, that his work is deſigned to exhibit or make known the rights of Mehemet Ali Khan. With this intention, he is careful to avoid every thing that can ſerve to render him odious, as well as his father Anaverdi Khan. To ſhew, from an inconteſtable fact, that this Editor was not in poſſeſſion of acurate information, we need only obſerve, that he gives Nizam El Moulouc no more than four ſons, though he left ſix. The two that are omitted by him are ſtill living. The one is named Bazaletzing, and the other Mirs Mogol.

† The ſignification of the word Nabob will be hereafter explained.

ſmall tracts of country, which they had received *en appanage* *; but they acknowledged the Nabob of Arcot as their ſuperior, and the chief of their family. This Nabobſhip of Arcot comprehended alſo ſeveral leſs ſtates, as that of the Raja of Tanjaor, of the Naiés of Madura, and of Mazara, &c. who were tributaries, and obliged to furniſh a quota of troops to the Nabob's army.

In the year 1740, the Marattas made an incurſion into the Subaſhip of Decan, in the abſence of Nizam El Mouloué, Grand Viſir and Suba; and, ſpreading like a torrent, they arrived at the country of Arcot, under the conduct of Ragogi their general.

The Nabob of Arcot † having collected his forces, which were by no means equal to thoſe of the Marattas, marched againſt them, and loſt both the victory and his life.

This unfortunate Nabob left an only ſon ‡, who ſucceeded him in his government. The reſt of his family ſought an aſylum at Pondicherry, where the Sieur Dumas, then governor, received and promiſed to protect them, in return for the repeated advantages the French had received from the Nabobs of Arcot, ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment in India.

Ragogi laid ſiege to Pondicherry, whoſe fortifications were in a very indifferent ſtate. He demanded the governor to deliver up to him the family of the Nabob, and to pay him tribute. The ſpirited anſwer of the governor is well known.

* Lands are given *en appanage*, when they are in lieu of the future right of ſucceſſion to the whole, of which they are a part.

† Daouſt Ali Khan.

‡ Sabder Ali Khan.

He replied, that *the dominions of the King of France had always been the aſylum of unfortunate Princes; and that the French had no other tribute to give than bullets and balls.* A piece of gallantry made to the miſtreſs of the Maratta general, contributed, together with the activity of the beſieged, to induce Ragogi to raiſe the ſiege.

The ſame general, in the following year, beſieged Trichnapoli, a ſtrong place on the river Caveri. It ſurrendered for want of proviſion; and Chanda Saeb, the Nabob of the country, became priſoner, and was carried to Sattara. Nizam El Moulouc, being informed of the irruption of the Marattas and the death of the Nabob of Arcot, who was aſſaſſinated, nominated Anaverdi Khan, one of his beſt generals, a man of addreſs and of conſummate knowledge in politics and the ſcience of government, regent and adminiſtrator of the government of Arcot, during the minority of the young prince, Seyd-Mehemet Khan, grandſon of Daouſt Ali Khan. Anaverdi Khan, who then (in 1742) commanded the forces of the Suba of Decan to the northward of Maſulipatnam, very ſoon arrived at Arcot. On the other ſide, Nizam El Moulouc advancing by forced marches to the relief of his dominions, Ragogi abandoned the country of Arcot, and retired into the country of the Marattas.

Anaverdi Khan reſtored tranquillity and good order to the country entruſted to his charge, and made his government beloved both by the people and the army. He ſeemed at firſt to be exceedingly attached to the young prince, and was very attentive to the care of his education. But this inſidious politician, whoſe deſires tended ſolely to the acquiſition of his pupil's territories, was careful

ful to inſpire the young prince with a degree of haughtineſs and avidity capable of rendering him odious, at the ſame time that he was himſelf courting every day more and more the affection of the people and the army.

When the young prince became of an age proper to marry, he adviſed him to eſpouſe the daughter of the Nabob of Veilour, one of his near relations. This Nabob having accepted the alliance with joy, propoſed to give ſuperb entertainments on the occaſion of the marriage, according to the ordinary cuſtom of the Indians, who are much attached to pomp and ceremony in circumſtances of this nature.

During the time of the preparation for the nuptials, at the beginning of the year 1744, Anaverdi Khan inſpired the young prince, who had the higheſt confidence in his tutor, with the abſurd idea of profiting by the tumult of the occaſion, to get poſſeſſion of Veilour, and rob his future father-in-law of the fortreſs, which was the ſtrongeſt in all the country, and contained, as it was ſaid, a great maſs of treaſure. The young Nabob, whoſe heart was already corrupted, approved highly of this advice, and reſolved to put it in execution. He repaired to Vailour, where it was concerted that Anaverdi Khan ſhould cauſe ſoldiers to come as ſimple ſpectators, who, joining at once with the prince's retinue and thoſe who accompanied Anaverdi Khan, ſhould put the garriſon of Veilour to the ſword, and take poſſeſſion of the place, according to the orders of the young prince. But the perfidious tutor, who had deviſed this conſpiracy with no other intention than that of betraying his pupil into deſtruction, ſent but a ſmall number of ſoldiers; and cauſed

the Nabob of Veilour to be adviſed ſecretly of the deſign of his nephew, the evening before he had appointed to come himſelf to the place. His hope was, that the Nabob, enraged at the perfidy of his future ſon-in-law, would put him to death. In this, however, he was diſappointed; for the Nabob contented himſelf with reproaching the young man publicly with his crime; and cauſed him to leave the place immediately, with all his followers.

The event of this contrivance having turned out contrary to the expectations of Anaverdi Khan, he ſoon after formed another plot, which ſucceeded in accompliſhing the deſtruction of the young Nabob.

Nizam El Moulouc being deſirous of poſſeſſing an army, which, though compoſed of different Indian nations become effeminate by a long peace, ſhould nevertheleſs be fit for the purpoſes of war, had with that intention invited into his dominions a great number of Patanes, or inhabitants of Candahar, the remains of thoſe Agwans who had conquered Perſia, and whom Nadir Sha, after having chaced them out of that fertile kingdom, had purſued even to their own mountains. He had even beſtowed among the chiefs of them, Nabobſhips, or fiefs of the empire; whence aroſe the Patane Nabobs of Carpet, Canour, and Sanour,—a numerous corps of theſe Patanes, who compoſed part of the Nabob of Arcot's army, and to whom, at that time, conſiderable ſums were due for pay. Theſe people are courageous; but ferocious, cruel, and perfidious, when they believe themſelves ill-treated. Anaverdi Khan aſſembled theſe Patanes at Arcot, under

der the pretence of cauſing them to paſs in review before their prince; and, by his ſecret agents, excited them to demand the arrears of pay due to them. He did not fail to adviſe the young Nabob, that the method to enforce reſpect from his troops, was to threaten them with the chaſtiſement due to their inſolence. The prince, who was but too much inclined to ſpeak with haughtineſs and contempt, treated them in the ſevereſt manner. A revolt was the conſequence; and, in their fury, they did not ſpare even the Nabob himſelf, but put him to the ſword. This event happened early in the year 1745.

Anaverdi Khan, arrived at the height of his deſires, affected to be oppreſſed with the utmoſt deſpair and ſorrow. He continued for ſome time to deplore the loſs of his pupil; but at length becoming gradually more moderate, and the Patanes appearing to be concerned for the effects of their ferocity, he perſuaded them that he would refer the affair to the deciſion of Nizam. But in the mean time he ſecretly aſſembled the chiefs of all the other corps of the army, and repreſented to them, that, ſince the Grand Viſir would confound them all with the criminals, there was but one way of juſtifying themſelves, namely, to extirpate the Patanes. The inſolent ferocity of thoſe ſoldiers had rendered them odious to all the other Indians; and the advice of Anaverdi Khan was therefore univerſally approved of. The effect of their deliberation was kept a profound ſecret; and they ſeized an opportunity ſo favourable to their purpoſe, that all the Patanes, to the number of 3000, were maſ-

ſacred, the women and children only being ſpared *.

Anaverdi Khan, having at length finiſhed this horrible carnage, wrote to Nizam El Moulouc the hiſtory of the cataſtrophe of the young Nabob of Arcot, and the puniſhment he had cauſed to be inflicted on the Patanes; arranging the whole account to his own advantage. The Grand Viſir, Suba of Decan, concluded that he could not do better than to beſtow the Nabobſhip on Anaverdi Khan; as the family of the ancient Nabobs was extinct, and Chanda Saeb, who by right of his wife might pretend to it, was priſoner among the Marattas.

At the end of the year 1745, Anaverdi Khan was eſtabliſhed Nabob of Arcot, but did not ſucceed in procuring the ſame reſpect for his government as had attended his regency. He had ſeveral children. Maffous Khan, his eldeſt ſon, was deſigned for his ſucceſſor; but his predilection was in favour of a ſon whom the law excluded from the ſucceſſion, as being born out of the

* As theſe anecdotes are differently related elſewhere, it may happen that many, who think themſelves intimately acquainted with the hiſtory of India, may demand, How the Writer of theſe Memoirs could acquire his knowledge of them? To anticipate this queſtion, it is anſwered, that they cannot but know that the court and army of Ayder are filled with the relations and ſervants of the ancient families of the Nabobs of Arcot. Such are Razaſaeb, the Nabob of Vandevachi, the ſon-in-law and nephew of the Nabob of Veilour; Aſſinſaeb, an old man of great merit, formerly grand-treaſurer of the Nabobs of Arcot, and exerciſing the ſame office under Ayder Ali Khan. In the ſame army are likewiſe Baoud Khan and Savay Khan, brothers, and chiefs of the Patanes, ſtrongly attached to the French; and, by reaſon of their youth, ſpared in the maſſacre cauſed by Anaverdi Khan. The Author of this work being deſirous of informing himſelf in the hiſtory of India, cultivated the friendſhip of all theſe perſons; who took a pleaſure in relating the hiſtory of the misfortunes of their family, their nation, and their ancient maſters. It is from them that he has learned the facts he relates in this place.

the houſe, and by a Bayadere, or woman reputed common.—He gave Trichnapoli, a ſtrong place on the Caveri, with a conſiderable territory, to this ſon, who was named Mehemet Ali Khan.

Anaverdi Khan was in quiet poſſeſſion of the fruit of his crimes, when Providence raiſed up an avenger of the family of the Nabobs of Arcot. This man was the famous Dupleix, whom the French King and Eaſt India Company, in 1746, called from the employment of director and commandant of Chandenagor, and appointed governor of Pondicherry.

This great man, after having acquired much glory by his brave defence of Pondicherry againſt Admiral Boſcawen, whom he forced to raiſe the ſiege, received the news of the peace between France and England in the year 1747. In this juncture he thought it neceſſary, for the honour and advantage of his nation, to puniſh Anaverdi Khan for the aſſiſtance he had afforded the Engliſh during the ſiege, by furniſhing them with troops on that occaſion: being likewiſe well aſſured that this new family would always oppoſe the intereſts of the French, who had ſhewn ſo ſtrong an attachment to the family of Seyd. His firſt ſtep was to procure an antagoniſt to Anaverdi Khan, by his negociations with the Marattas; who were by that means induced to ſet at liberty Chanda Saeb, Nabob of Trichnapoli, who had eſpouſed the ſiſter of the laſt Nabob of Arcot, and whoſe wife and ſon had taken refuge at Pondicherry.

Chanda Saeb being thus reſtored to his liberty, repaired immediately to the court of Nazerzing, who ſucceeded his father Nizam El Mou-

louc

louc in the Subaſhip of Decan in 1748. It was in vain that he ſolicited this young prince to reeſtabliſh him in the Nabobſhip of Arcot, as the inheritance of his wife, or at leaſt in his town and fortreſs of Trichnapoli: the intrigues and the money of Anaverdi Khan prevented his ſucceſs with the Suba. But he was more fortunate in his applicaton to Idadmoudi Khan, king of the little ſtate of Adonis, and nephew of Nazerzing. This young prince, the ſon of an elder brother of the Suba, had been deſigned by Nizam El Moulouc as his ſucceſſor; but that Viſir perceiving himſelf at the point of death, and his grandſon very young, nominated and cauſed his ſon Nazerzing to be acknowledged his ſucceſſor.

Chanda Saeb perſuaded the young prince of Adonis, that it was proper for him to requeſt the Nabobſhip of Arcot of his uncle; the extent and value of this laſt being much more conſiderable than the territory of Adonis. The nephew conſequently made his requeſt, which met with a refuſal from his uncle, whoſe jealouſy made him averſe to a ſtep that tended to increaſe the power of his nephew. Idadmoudi Khan, urged on by Chanda Saeb and M. Dupleix, raiſed an army of 60,000 men, with which, accompanied by Chanda Saeb, he arrived in the country of Arcot in July 1749, where he was joined by the French, to the number of 600 men and 2,000 Seapoys, commanded by the Comte D'Auteuil. This army marched againſt Anaverdi Khan, who had aſſembled all his force, and encamped near Ambour. After having repulſed his antagoniſts for two ſucceſſive days, his entrenchments were forced by the French on the third; and he loſt the victory

victory and his life at the age of eighty-two years. His two ſons, Maſſous Khan and Mehemet Ali Khan, were preſent at this battle. The firſt was made priſoner, and the other fled to the fortreſs of Trichnapoli. Every other part of the country acknowledged the grandſon of Nizam El Moulouc, as Nabob of Arcot.

Nazerzing, jealous of the acceſſion of power that Idadmoudi Khan had acquired, contrary to his orders aſſembled his army, and marched into the country of Arcot againſt him, Chanda Saeb and the French who had aſſiſted him in his undertaking. And in the month of February 1750, he arrived within ſix leagues of Pondicherry, with an innumerable army.

The ancient miniſters and courtiers of Nizam El Moulouc, ſhocked to behold this diſſention, attempted to reconcile the uncle and the nephew. They concerted among themſelves, that the nephew ſhould repair to his uncle's camp, and make his ſubmiſſion; and that the uncle ſhould inveſt him with the authority of Nabob of Arcot. Idadmoudi Khan, on the aſſurances of the lords who had offered themſelves as mediators, repaired to the camp of Nazerzing; who, inſtead of giving him the appointment of Nabob, cauſed him to be arreſted.

This treachery of the Suba of Decan occaſioned a general diſguſt in his whole army. The lords conſpired his deſtruction, and correſponded with the governor Dupleix, who cauſed the French army, conſiſting of 800 French and 4,000 Seapoys, under M. de la Touche, to march againſt the army of Nazerzing, conſiſting of more than 300,000 fighting men. But this handful of French, aided by the conſpirators, were ſufficient

to

to decide the fate of ſo powerful a prince, who was ſlain on his elephant by the Patane Nabob of Carpet, one of the conſpirators. His nephew Idadmoudi Khan ſucceeded to his government, as Suba, in the month of December, in the ſame year.

It is at this æra that the hiſtory of Ayder Ali Khan commences in theſe Memoirs. He was then at the head of a ſmall quota of troops in Nazerzing's army, being about twenty-two years old. It would be difficult to trace his actions from a more remote period; becauſe, being born a private individual, no perſon has taken the pains to collect the facts that relate to his infancy. They were far from beholding the avenger of India, in the ſoldier of Nazerzing; or the ſcourge of the Engliſh, in the army that then fought againſt the French.

Idadmoudi Khan, who aſſumed the name of Mouza Ferzing, expreſſed his gratitude to M. Dupleix and all the French, and gave the Nabobſhip of Arcot to Chanda Saeb. In his return to Ayder Abad, his capital, he was accompanied by M. de Buſſi, at the head of a body of French troops; but he was not fortunate enough to arrive at the end of his voyage, the Patanes having ſlain him in a ſedition. At the beginning of 1751, his uncle Salaberzing, brother of Nazerzing, ſucceeded him, and had the ſame affection for the French as his nephew. Mr. Lally having recalled M. Buſſi, in 1758, from the court and army of Salaberzing, this prince, whoſe diſpoſition was good, though his abilities were not great, was aſſaſſinated by his brother Nizam Ali Khan, who is at preſent Suba of Decan, and will frequently be mentioned in the courſe of the following Hiſtory.

The

The Engliſh having always ſupported the family of Anaverdi Khan, preferred Mehemet Ali Khan to his eldeſt brother; and cauſed him to be acknowledged Nabob of Arcot in the treaty of Fontainebleau, after having aſſiſted him to impoveriſh all the princes of the ancient family of the Nabobs of Arcot. Chanda Saeb had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Engliſh, who were cruel enough to deliver him to Menagi, general of the troops at Tanjaor, who cauſed him to be beheaded in the month of June 1752. This crime, though yet unrevenged, will not paſs unpuniſhed; for Ayder Ali has promiſed the dominions of the Raja of Tanjaor to Raza Saeb, ſon of Chanda Saeb.

This ſuccinct account of the revolutions in India, is ſufficient to ſerve as an introduction to the Hiſtory of Ayder Ali Khan.

Note.—The Coſs is an Indian meaſure of diſtance, which anſwers nearly to 2500 toiſes, or a few yards more than an Engliſh league.

PARTI-

PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES

RELATING TO THE

PERSON, HABITS, AND MANNERS

OF

AYDER ALI KHAN.

AYDER Ali Khan, whoſe preciſe age is not known, ought to be about fifty-four or fifty-ſix years of age, if we may depend on thoſe who have known him from his infancy. He is about five feet ſix inches high, and very luſty, though active, and capable of bearing fatigue as well on foot as on horſeback. His complexion is very brown, as is that of all Indians who expoſe themſelves to the air and the ſun. His features are coarſe, his noſe ſmall and turned up, his lower lip rather thick; and he wears neither beard nor whiſkers, contrary to the cuſtom of the Orientals, eſpecially the Mahometans. His habits, like thoſe of all the natives of India, are of white muſlin, with a turban of the ſame. His robe is faſhioned nearly the ſame as thoſe of the European ladies, which are called *a l'Angloiſe*. The body and ſleeves fit neatly, and are drawn

drawn close by strings; the rest of the robe being ample, and in folds: so that when the Indian great men walk, a page supports their train, from their first stepping off the carpet to their entering into their carriages.

In the army, Ayder Ali wears a military habit invented by himself for his generals. It is an uniform composed of a vest of white sattin, with gold flowers, faced with yellow, and attached by cords or strings of the same colour: the drawers are of the same materials; and the boots of yellow velvet. He wears a scarf of white silk about his waist; and, with the military habit, his turban is of a red or aurora colour. When he is on foot, he commonly uses a gold-headed cane; and sometimes on horseback he wears a sabre, hanging by a belt of velvet embroidered with gold, and fastened over his shoulder by a clasp of gold, enriched with some precious stones.

He never wears jewelry either on his turban or his clothes; and never uses either necklace, ear-pendants, or bracelets. His turban is very long, and flat at top. In this particular he follows the ancient mode; as well as in his slippers, which are very large, and have a long point turned back, resembling the roofs of the buildings in some countries up the Levant; or those slippers anciently worn in France, and called *Souliers a la poulaine*. The petits maitres of his and other Indian courts affect to wear little bonnets which scarcely cover the tops of their heads, and slippers so small as scarce to admit the points of their feet: but though in these and other respects their taste is so different from that of Ayder and his son, yet to imitate him as much as possible in the article of beard and whiskers, without infringing

fringing the precepts of the Alcoran, they reduce their beard and mouſtaches to a mouſtache ſcarcely diſcernible.

The countenance of Ayder, though not handſome, is open, and calculated to inſpire confidence. He has not acquired the habit of diſguiſing his aſpect, which is either gay or overſpread with chagrin, according to the occaſions that preſent themſelves. He poſſeſſes a facility of converſing on any ſubject; and has none of that ſtatelineſs and taciturnity, which almoſt all the other princes of the Eaſt affect to preſerve. When he receives a ſtranger, he is reſerved, and appears to ſpeak with gravity; but ſoon recovers his uſual eaſe, and converſes with all the world, repeating himſelf the news and common converſation of the day, with the greateſt affability. It is moſt aſtoniſhing, that this ſovereign aſks queſtions, gives anſwers, hears a letter read, and dictates an anſwer to another, beholds a theatrical exhibition, and even ſeems to attend to the performance—at the ſame inſtant that he decides concerning things of the utmoſt importance.

There is no ſovereign more eaſy of acceſs to every one that has buſineſs with him, whether ſtrangers or ſubjects; and the former, whatever may be their quality, are always ſure to be introduced into his preſence, by demanding an audience, by a Souquedar, or mace-bearer, of which there is always a ſufficient number at the gate of his palace. The Fakirs, a ſpecies of begging monks, are alone excluded from this indulgence; but when one of theſe appears, he is conducted to the Pirjada, or grand almoner, who ſupplies his wants. The court of Ayder is, in this point, abſolutely different from thoſe of all the other princes

princes of India; who hold theſe Fakirs in ſuch high veneration, that they ſuffer them to enter their palaces at any hour, and even admit them to their table. They have the aſſurance to take the firſt place at table, neareſt the prince; though they are moſt commonly diſguſting, filthy, and covered with vermin.

When buſineſs or parties of pleaſure do not prevent Ayder Ali from going to reſt at his uſual time, which is after midnight, he riſes with the ſun, that is to ſay, about ſix o'clock. As ſoon as he is riſen, the majors of the army *, who have been on duty the preceding day and night, and likewiſe thoſe who relieve them, enter, make their reports, and receive orders to be tranſmitted to the miniſters and generals, who themſelves have the privilege of entering his dreſſing-room, if they have any thing extraordinary or preſſing to communicate. The couriers that have arrived during the night, or in the morning, alſo come and lay their diſpatches at his feet. It may be eſteemed a weakneſs in a prince ſo occupied, that his toilet takes up a conſiderable part of his time. It laſts commonly two or three hours; and is chiefly taken up by his barbers, who pluck the hairs from his beard.

But juſtice requires us likewiſe to obſerve, that when any military operation requires his attention, the toilet is no more thought of.

Between eight and nine in the morning he quits his apartment, and repairs to a ſaloon, where a number of ſecretaries wait for his appearance.

* Theſe majors of the army are like adjutants-general. They are not perſons of diſtinction, but men of approved diligence and fidelity, choſen out of the ſubaltern officers of cavalry and infantry.

pearance. Into their hands, according to their reſpective departments, he puts the letters received; giving them at the ſame time inſtructions for the anſwers. His ſons, his relations, and thoſe lords who are honoured with his intimacy, enter; and if it be nine o'clock, they take the uſual refreſhment. If he has leiſure, he appears at a balcony, and receives the ſalute of his elephants *, that are led before him, as well as his horſes. His tygers of chace likewiſe pay him a viſit. They are led by hand, and are covered with a mantle of green and gold hanging to the ground, and a bonnet on their head, of cloth embroidered with gold, with which their eyes can be immediately covered, if they ſhould chance to prove miſchievous. Ayder himſelf gives each of them a ball of ſweetmeats, which they take very adroitly with their paws, being exceedingly tame. Theſe are the ſpotted tygers, and their keepers lead them every day into thoſe places where the greateſt crowds are: but the grand tyger, or tyger royal, has never been tamed by any attempts yet made.

After the repaſt, which ends about half after ten, Ayder enters into the hall of audience: or the grand tent, if at the army. He is ſeated on a ſopha beneath a canopy, and very often in ſome balcony that fronts an open place or court of the palace; and ſome of his relations ſit on each ſide of him. All perſons who have permiſſion of acceſs, of which the number is very great, may come to this audience; and thoſe who

* When the prince appears at the balcony, his officers cry out, "Your elephants ſalute your Majeſty:" And at the ſame time thoſe animals, who are ranged in a ſemicircle round the palace, make three genuflections.

who have affairs to tranſact, may either requeſt admittance by means of the Souquedars, or put their requeſt into the hands of thoſe officers by whom it is carried to their chief, who is always preſent, and who places it at the feet of the prince, where it is immediately read and anſwered. It is not cuſtomary here to ſtop the prince by the offer of petitions, when he goes out, unleſs the affair be very urgent and extraordinary, or the petitioner has been prevented from forwarding his requeſt at the uſual hours of audience: a circumſtance that very rarely happens *.

At

* In the year 1767, Ayder being at Coilmoutour, and going out with his retinue, about five in the evening, to take the air, an old woman proſtrated herſelf, and cried out, Juſtice!—Ayder immediately cauſed his carriage to ſtop; made a ſign to her to come forward, and demanded her requeſt. She anſwered, My Lord, I had but one daughter, and Aggi Mahmout has ravſhed her from me. Ayder replied, Aggi Mahmout has been gone hence more than a month; how does it happen that you have waited till this time without complaining?—My Lord, I have given many requeſts into the hands of Ayder Sha, and have received no anſwer.—This Ayder Sha, who was the chief uſher, preceded the Nabob, bearing a large collar of gold, as a mark of his dignity. He advanced, and ſaid, This woman, as well as her daughter, are of infamous repute, and live in a diſgraceful manner. The Nabob gave orders to return inſtantly to the palace, and commanded the woman to follow him. All the court were in great apprehenſion for the officer, who was much beloved; and no perſon daring to intercede for him, the ſon of Ayder begged the commandant of Europeans to endeavour to procure his pardon. He accordingly requeſted it of Ayder, who refuſed it with much ſeverity. I cannot grant your requeſt, ſaid he: there is no greater crime than that of interrupting the communication between a ſovereign and his ſubjects. It is the duty of the powerful to ſee that the weak have juſtice. The ſovereign is the only protector God has given them; and the prince who ſuffers oppreſſion to paſs unpuniſhed among his ſubjects, is deſervedly deprived of their affection and confidence, and at laſt compels them to revolt againſt him. He then gave orders to puniſh Ayder Sha with two hundred ſtripes on the parade; and at the ſame time commanded an officer of his Abyſſinian horſeguard to repair immediately with the woman to the country ſeat at which Aggi Mahmout then was. If he found the girl, his orders were,

At this audience thirty or forty ſecretaries are ſeated along the wall to his left, who write continually. Couriers arrive almoſt every inſtant, and are conducted with great noiſe and buſtle to the feet of the prince, where they lay their diſpatches. A ſecretary kneeling takes the packet; and ſitting on his hams before the prince, opens it and reads the letter. Ayder immediately dictates the particulars of the anſwer, and the letter is carried to the office of a miniſter; contrary to the cuſtoms of the princes of the Eaſt, who affix their names by means of a ſeal. Ayder ſigns the diſpatches in order as they are completed, as well as a number of private orders. Many writers report the contrary to this; which only proves that they have never ſeen Ayder half an hour at a time. The orders that iſſue from the offices of the miniſters, have no other ſignature than that of the great ſeal, of which they are the depoſitories; and the diſpatch is cloſed with the private ſeal of the miniſter. The letters ſigned by Ayder are cloſed by the ſeal of the ſovereign, of which the principal ſecretary is guardian. When this Nabob writes any intereſting letter, or gives an order of importance, he affixes a particular or private ſeal, which he always wears on his finger; and in

were, to deliver her to her mother, and return with the head of Aggi Mahmout; but if ſhe was not found, he was charged to conduct Aggi Mahmout to Coilmoutour. The girl was found, and the head of the criminal was brought to Ayder. Aggi Mahmout was then ſixty years old, had been chief uſher to Ayder Ali twenty-five years, and was ſucceeded in his office by Ayder Sha; at which time the Nabob had given him a Zoghir, or conſiderable diſtrict of land, as a reward for his ſervices. This man was enamoured of the girl, and had carried her off, upon her mother's refuſing to ſell her to him, becauſe ſhe ſubſiſted by proſtituting her.—The Alcoran condemns the raviſher of a girl or woman to death.

in that caſe he himſelf carries the packet to one of his couriers, who conveys it as far as the firſt ſtation. To the packet is joined a paper, denoting the hour it was ſent off; and at every ſtation the time of its arrival is marked. We ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſpeak of theſe poſts, which have been ſince imitated by the Engliſh.

If Ayder purchaſes horſes or elephants, or if new pieces of cannon have been founded or brought from any port or arſenal, he inſpects them during this audience; the animals or pieces of cannon being brought into the court or ſquare of the palace.

Miniſters, generals, ambaſſadors, and other great men, rarely appear at this audience, unleſs commanded, or unleſs urged by extraordinary affairs. It is peculiar to their dignity to ſee the prince only in the evening, when none but men of conſequence are admitted; and nothing elſe is thought of but to make their court to the ſovereign, or to ſhare his pleaſures. The great have agents, who are uſually Bramins, who ſolicit their affairs either with the prince or his miniſters; and theſe agents, who have the title of Ouaquils, or envoys, have their leave of admiſſion to the preſence when they have been preſented by their maſters, and are honourably received. The miniſters ſend one of the principal ſecretaries of their department to the prince; who, ſitting before him in the ſame poſture as the other ſecretaries, communicate their buſineſs, and converſe with him.

A great Ambaſſador, or other perſon of conſequence, is announced in a loud voice by the chief of

of the uſhers, in theſe terms, "Your Majeſty, "the Lord of —— ſalutes you" Miniſters, ſecretaries, oaquils, or other men of buſineſs, are not announced, but go in and out without particular obſervation, except that they are careful to ſalute the Nabob. When a great man is announced, the prince returns the ſalute, and begs him to be ſeated: the friends and other great men, who ſurround the ſovereign, ſalute him alſo; and, in proportion to the eſteem or favour he is in with the Nabob, they give place, that he may approach him. A perſon of ordinary rank, who has requeſted an audience, makes three reverences in entering, by moving his hand from his forehead almoſt to the ground; and afterwards places himſelf on one ſide of the chief uſher, continuing ſilent, with his hands joined before him. The Nabob returns the ſalute by ſimply touching his turban with his hand, and affects to continue the diſcourſe with thoſe about him: after which he makes a ſign for the perſon to advance, and demands, in an engaging and affectionate manner, the ſubject of his viſit: and upon the expoſition of the affair by the ſuppliant, he receives a deciſive anſwer. If he be a ſtranger of a genteel rank or employment, as a trader or merchant of conſequence, he receives orders to ſit; and his place is uſually on the right, fronting the ſecretaries. The Nabob aſks him ſome queſtions reſpecting his ſtate of life, his country, or his voyage, and appoints a time when he will ſee his merchandizes. Betel is then preſented to the ſtranger, and is underſtood as equivalent to a permiſſion to retire; which is done with the ſame ceremony as at the entrance.

This

This audience continues till after three o'clock, which is the hour he retires to his apartment to ſleep, or make the ſieſto, as it is called in Italy.

About half paſt five, the prince returns into the hall of audience, or ſome other large apartment, where he places himſelf in a balcony to ſee his troops exerciſe, and his cavalry defile before him. He is, as in the morning, ſurrounded by ſome of his friends or relations; and the ſecretaries are buſied in reading letters, or writing.

About half after ſix, when the day cloſes in, a great number of Manelſalgis, or bearers of flambeaux, appear in the court of the palace, and ſalute the prince as they paſs on the ſide of the apartment where he is. They illuminate all the apartments in a moment, eſpecially that in which the Nabob is, with tapers in chandeliers of exquiſite workmanſhip, ornamented with feſtoons of flowers of the utmoſt lightneſs and delicacy. Theſe chandeliers, on account of the wind, are covered with large ſhades of Engliſh glaſs. There are likewiſe, in ſome parts of the palace, large glaſs lanthorns, painted with flowers of all colours. The great men, miniſters and ambaſſadors, viſit the Nabob only at night. They are uſually perfumed with the moſt coſtly perfumes. Beſides the men in power and employment, the apartments are filled with young nobility; and every body aſſumes the moſt polite and engaging manners. After having ſaluted the prince, the ſalute is paid to his ſons and relations, his miniſters, and others, in an eaſy, unaffected manner. Among the young nobility, there are a certain number who have the title of Arabſbequi; which anſwers nearly to that of chamberlain, in Germany. There

are ordinarily four in waiting each day: they are diſtinguiſhed by their ſabre, which they carry in their hand in the ſheath, uſing it nearly as a walking-ſtick. All the other company leave their arms in the hands of their pages and other attendants, who are very numerous, and fill the avenues of the palace. The pages alone are permitted to enter: they follow their maſter, bearing his train into the apartments, till they quit their ſlippers at their ſtepping on the carpet: the pages then let fall the train, and put the ſlippers in a bag. Ayder, who ſets no great value on theſe ceremonies, permits the Europeans to come in with their ſhoes on; though his apartments are commonly covered with white muſlin, ſpread upon the moſt ſuperb Perſia carpets. He has ſuch a predilection for white, that he cauſes wainſcotting, that is painted, gilt, and varniſhed, to be covered with white muſlin; and even chairs and ſophas of embroidered velvet or gold ſtuff. The Europeans deceive themſelves exceedingly in ſuppoſing, that it is by way of diſtinction or pre-eminence that they are permitted to enter the apartments in ſhoes. This permiſſion, given them in ſome of the Indian courts, is occaſioned by a notion the Indian princes have, that the Europeans are obſtinate, and bigotted to their own cuſtoms, however repugnant to decency and propriety. M. de Buſſi, to conciliate the Indian cuſtoms with thoſe of the French, carried velvet ſlippers to the court of the Suba of Decan, which he put on; and made uſe of a kind of pantoufle in paſſing from his carriage to the border of the carpet, where he threw them off. We may often avoid offending ſtrangers by little attentions that coſt nothing, and tend exceedingly to conciliate their affections.

There

There is, for the moſt part, a comedy every night, that commences about eight in the evening, and laſts till eleven: it is intermixed with dances and ſongs. During this comedy, the Arab-ſbequi continue near the ſtrangers, and politely inform them of every thing they may deſire to know; as the ſubject of the comedy, the news of the day, &c. They are careful to aſk, if he chuſes to drink or eat; in which caſe they cauſe ſherbet, warm milk, fruits, or confectionary to be preſented to him; but they ſeldom eat. If the ſtranger chuſes to play cheſs, they play with him, or propoſe a party. Ayder, to whom the entertainments of the ſtage are very indifferent, diſcourſes with his miniſters or ambaſſadors, ſometimes paſſing into a cabinet to ſpeak with more ſecrecy; and continues, as in the morning, to diſpatch buſineſs, without ſeeming to be buſy. Almoſt always, before the end of the performance, flowers are brought to him in a baſket of filigram, out of which he himſelf gives a few to the lords who are about him; and afterwards the baſket is carried into the apartments of the theatre, every one taking a ſmall flower from them, and returning a profound reverence to the prince. This takes place even to the loweſt ſecretary. When Ayder wiſhes to give a particular mark of his eſteem, he himſelf makes a collar of jaſmine flowers, knotting them with ſilk as he converſes, which he himſelf adjuſts round the neck of the happy mortal to whom he gives this glorious mark of his eſteem and favour. He has ſeveral times conferred this honour on the chiefs of his Europeans, knowing well that the French, above all nations, eſteem themſelves well paid by this ſort of money. He who has received this

honour, is viſited the following day by the firſt people of the court to compliment him.

If a battle has been gained, or any other glorious event has happened in favour of the prince, the poet of the court arrives, announcing himſelf, at his firſt entering the apartments, by the pompous and extravagant titles he beſtows on the prince: as, "Health to the greateſt king on earth, "whoſe name alone cauſes his enemies to trem-"ble," &c. All the world, at the voice of the poet, becomes ſilent and attentive. The comedy or dance is interrupted; the poet enters, ſeats himſelf in the place immediately oppoſite the prince, and recites a poem, which every body affects to hear with the utmoſt attention, except the prince, who ſeems at that time to be more particularly buſied in converſing with his miniſters. The poet uſually, after ſpeaking of the prince, proceeds to his relations, and the generals or principal officers; not forgetting the miniſters and favourites. The young courtiers, or *baras a demi*, who are uſually included altogether in the praiſes beſtowed by the poet, often turn it into ridicule; and their deriſion extends even to thoſe who are the higheſt ſpoken of. They and the ſecretaries, or other inferior courtiers, often parody the words of the poem very pleaſantly, ſparing no body but the prince and his ſon: but as they have no printing, both the poem and the criticiſm are of ſhort duration. We cannot ſpeak of their public entertainments, without mentioning the Bayaderes, of whom the Abbé Raynal has drawn ſo advantageous a portrait in his Hiſtoire Philoſophique.

At the preſent time, the court of Ayder is the moſt brilliant in India; and his company of performers

formers is without contradiction the firſt, as well on account of its riches, as becauſe the Bayaderes are the women to whom he gives the preference. Being ſovereign of part of Viſapour, he has every facility of procuring, among this claſs of women, thoſe who are moſt remarkable for their beauty and talents.

The comedians of the court are all women. A directreſs, who is likewiſe manager, purchaſes young girls at the age of four or five years, who are choſen on account of their beauty. She cauſes them to be inoculated, and then provides them with maſters both for dancing and muſic. They are taught every accompliſhment that can inſpire the prince and his court, with the love of pleaſure; and their ſucceſs is ſuch, that they delight and ſeduce the moſt inſenſible of men. They begin to appear in public at the age of about ten or elven years. They have generally the moſt delicate features, large dark eyes, beautiful eye-brows, ſmall mouth, and the fineſt teeth; their cheeks are dimpled, and their black hair hangs in flowing treſſes to the ground; their complexion is a clear brown, not ſuch as that of the Mulatto women, who are incapable of bluſhing; but like that of a country girl in the flow of health, who has preſerved the roſes, after ſuffering the lillies to fade. Theſe are the yellow women, that the Orientals prefer to all others: they give themſelves that tinge by painting their cheeks of a jonquil colour, in the ſame manner as the French women uſe rouge; and it is remarkable that in a very ſhort time one becomes habituated to this colour, and finds it agreeable. Their habit is always a fine gauze, very richly embroidered with gold; and they are covered with jewels: their head, their

neck, their ears, their breaſts, their arms, fingers, legs, and toes, have their jewels; and even their noſe is ornamented with a ſmall diamond, that gives them an arch look, which is far from being unpleaſing.

The comedies are all pieces of intrigue. They perſonate either women who league together to deceive a jealous huſband, or young girls that conſpire to deceive their mother. It is impoſſible to play with more art or with more natural eaſe. Their ſongs are gay and agreeable. The words that are ſung by a ſingle voice are almoſt always the complaint of a lover. Thoſe which are ſung in chorus are much gayer; but they have no ſecond parts, and are always repeated.

The dancers are ſuperior in their performance to the comedians and ſingers: it may even be affirmed that they would afford pleaſure on the theatre of the opera at Paris. Every part is employed when theſe girls dance; their heads, their eyes, their arms, their feet, and all their body ſeem to move only to enchant and ſurpriſe. They are very light, and very ſtrong in the legs; turning round on one foot, and ſpringing up immediately after with a ſurpriſing force. They have ſo much accuracy in their movements, that they accompany the inſtruments with bells that are on their feet; and as they are of the moſt elegant figures, all their motions are graceful. No Bayadere of the prince's company is more than ſeventeen years old. At this age they are diſmiſſed; and either travel over the province, or attach themſelves to the Pagods*.

The

* Every Pagod maintains a number of Bayaderes, whoſe charms produce one of the moſt certain revenues of the Bramins.

The directreſs of this company is paid by the prince; but her emoluments are not known. She has always a number of pieces ready in rehearſal to be played at a moment's notice. Tho' there is every reaſon to think ſhe is well paid by Ayder for the pleaſures ſhe procures him, the emoluments ſhe receives from private individuals of fortune, are ſtill more advantageous to her. When a great man gives a ſet ſupper, he has uſually a comedy ornamented with ſongs and dances. The directreſs of the prince's company is paid one hundred rupees for every actreſs that plays, ſings, or dances. The number of theſe actreſſes is often more than twenty, the inſtrumental muſic not being charged.

If a ſupper is given to a few private friends, the ſingers and dancers are likewiſe employed at the ſame price of one hundred rupees. Beſides which, they muſt be furniſhed with ſupper, and abundance of fruits, ſweetmeats, and warm milk. If the friends are retained to ſleep (as is often done, where their ſuppers are more friendly than ceremonious) they chuſe each a companion for the night among the performers, for which the directreſs is likewiſe paid one hundred rupees each; and the maſter of the houſe muſt preſent his friend with ſome trinket, or piece of ſtuff, to be given to the damſel when ſhe is ſent away in the morning.

Beſides the prince's company, there are ſeveral others in the town where the court is kept, and in the armies. There are even ſome that are compoſed of men only: but the people of the court never have recourſe to any but the prince's company.

At eleven o'clock, or about midnight, every one retires but thoſe that ſup with the Nabob; who, except on grand feſtivals, are always his friends and relations.

This mode of life purſued by Ayder, is, as may be eaſily imagined, interrupted in the army. It is likewiſe occaſionally interrupted by hunting parties, by excurſions on foot or horſeback, or by his attending to aſſiſt at the exerciſes and evolutions made by conſiderable bodies of his troops.

When he is obliged to remain a month in camp, or in any town, he uſually goes to the chace twice a week. He hunts the ſtag, the roebuck, the antelope, and ſometimes the tyger. When notice arrives that this laſt animal has been obſerved to quit the foreſts, and appear in the plain, he mounts his horſe, followed by all his Abyſſinians, his ſpear-men on foot, and almoſt all the nobility armed with ſpears and bucklers. The traces of the beaſt being found, the hunters ſurround his hiding place, and contract the circle by degrees. As ſoon as the creature, who is uſually hid in ſome rice ground, perceives his enemies, he roars, and looks every where to find a place of eſcape; and when he prepares to ſpring on ſome one to force a paſſage, he is attacked by Ayder himſelf, to whom the honour of giving the firſt ſtroke is yielded, and in which he ſeldom fails. Thus the pleaſures of the ſovereign are varied to infinity.

THE

THE TITLES ASSUMED BY AYDER ALI KHAN; WITH THEIR EXPLICATION.

AYDER ALI KHAN, Nabob Bahader *, Nahondas †, Suba of Scirra, King of the Canarins and Corgues, Dayva § of Maſſour, Sovereign of the Empires of Cherequi and Calicut ‡, which contain the kingdoms of Cananor, Cochin, Trevancour; Nabob of

 Benguelour,

* Nabob Bahader ſignifies Incomparable Knight; the Bahaders in India being what the Knights were in Europe. A great ſovereign or general among the Mogols, after a battle, gives the dignity of Bahader to a man of Diſtinction, one of the principal officers who has behaved with honour. If there has formerly exiſted any ceremony for the creation of a Bahader, it is now out of uſe; all that is done at preſent is, that the general publicly praiſes his actions, and in his diſcourſe always calls him Bahader; which title is afterwards given him by all the world indiſcriminately. A Bahader has great privileges: he may go every where completely armed, cauſing a gilt mace to be carried before him, and may appear thus even in the preſence of any ſovereign. When a Bahader arrives at court, he demands an audience, which is always granted: he preſents himſelf with a helmet on, and armed in every other reſpect: the ſovereign ſeeing him enter, riſes and ſalutes him, by embracing twice; and in converſation uſes the terms *Anare-Day*, which ſignifies *my brother*; becauſe all the ſovereigns dignify themſelves with the title of Bahader. Ayder was ſurnamed the Incomparable Bahader; the true ſignification of the word *Nabob* being *incomparable*; for

Benguelour, Ballapour, Baſſapatnam, or Biſnagar, &c. &c. Lord of the Mountains and Vallies, &c. &c. *, King of the Iſlands of the Sea, &c. &c. ||.

for it is a title of honour, not of dignity: however, by common cuſtom, Nabob of Benguelour is uſed inſtead of Lord or Prince of Benguelour; but literally it only ſignifies incomparable, or without equal, in Benguelour. This title being excluſive, it muſt in no caſe be given to an inferior in preſence of his ſuperior. Ayder, to ſhew that the title of Bahader, which we have rendered Knight, but which literally implies Great Warrior, is above all other titles, ſigns, inſtead of his name, the two letters B. B. for Bahader Bahader.

† Nahondas implies one who is worthy of all the titles of honour.

§ Dayva, or regent. It will be hereafter ſeen how Ayder became regent of this kingdom.

‡ Sovereign of the empires of Cherequi and Calicut. The Portugueſe were the firſt Europeans who, arriving with their ſhips on the coaſt of Malabar, gave the title of Emperors to the ſovereigns of theſe two countries. The name anſwers very ill to the power and extent of the ſtates of Cherequi and Samorin. The only reſemblance they have to emperors is, that they are the chiefs or heads of two confederations of petty princes, or Rajas, to whom the Portugueſe gave the title of Kings, becauſe they have a diadem and purple mantle, having the head wrapped in red muſlin, and a ſtripe of gold faſtened to the back of their head; and wearing no other clothes than a kind of ſhirt of red gauze or muſlin, reaching almoſt to their knees. Theſe pretended kings ſeldom poſſeſs a territority of more than two, or ſix leagues at the extreme. They go on Foot with their legs naked, followed by their courtiers barefoot, and armed with ſabres and bucklers.

* Ayder is Lord of Malleaur or Carnate; which two words, in different languages, imply, The Country of Mountains and Vallies.

|| We ſhall hereafter ſhew how this title of King of the Iſles of the Sea was given, when his fleet made the conqueſt of the Maldives, which are ſaid to be twelve thouſand in number.

THE HISTORY OF AYDER ALI KHAN: OR, NEW MEMOIRS CONCERNING THE EAST INDIES.

AYDER Ali Khan, ſon of Nadim Saeb, general of ten thouſand horſe * in the army of the empire, was born in 1728 at Divanelli, a ſmall

* General of ten thouſand horſe is nearly the ſame as lieutenant-general in France. In the army of the Mogols, all the degrees are conferred by patents, that give power and commiſſion to raiſe ten thouſand men for the ſervice of the empire; with the prerogative to name all the inferior officers, to keep them in diſcipline, and to diſtribute juſtice among them. As the cavalry is the moſt eſteemed ſervice, the degree of general of ten thouſand horſe is the higheſt. This general has the right to cauſe any number of banners or ſtreamers to be carried before him, and to cauſe a large ſquare ſtandard to be hoiſted before his tent, which is, at the ſame time, a mark of his juriſdiction. A general, or commander in chief, cauſes two

ſmall fortreſs between Colar and Oſcota, in the country of Benguelour. This land was given in fief to his father, who was particularly attached to Nizam El Moulouc, Grand Viſir and Suba of Decan.

After the death of Nizam El Moulouc, Nadim Saeb retired to Divanelli with his two ſons, Iſmael Saeb, and Ayder. Iſmael Saeb was much older than his brother. He entered into the ſervice of the king of Mayſſour; and in a ſhort time became his firſt general. The king of Mayſſour, as a reward for a victory he had obtained over the Marattas, gave him the country and fortreſs of Benguelour; which put him into a ſituation of having a body of troops of his own, that compoſed part of the army of the king of Mayſſour, when Nazerzing made a deſcent upon the coaſt of Coromandel in 1750. Ayder, then about twenty-one or twenty-two years old, had never quitted his father's houſe. His father gave him the command of the quota of troops he was bound to furniſh to the army of the Suba, for his lordſhip of Divanelli. It conſiſted only of fifty horſemen, and two hundred Peadars, or ſoldiers armed with matchlocks. Ibrahim Saeb, the maternal uncle of Ayder, ſerved him inſtead of a Mentor.

Ayder being at the battle where Nazerzing was ſlain, the bravery of the French, who, to the number of eight hundred, ſeconded by four thouſand Seapoys, had the courage to attack the army of the Mogols, then more than three hundred thouſand ſtrong, made ſuch an impreſſion on

two to be hoiſted. When the grand army of a Subaſhip is aſſembled, a large triangular ſtandard is diſplayed at the head of the camp.

on his mind, that he was perſuaded the French were capable of undertaking the moſt difficult enterprizes. Having followed Mouzaferzing, ſucceſſor to Nazerzing, to Pondicherry, the obſervations he made in that city, upon the manners, diſcipline, fortifications, buildings, arts, and induſtry of the French, gave him the higheſt eſteem for that celebrated and warlike nation, and more eſpecially for M. Dupleix, who was then governor.

In 1751, Mouzaferzing having withdrawn his army to Golconda, Ayder, whoſe father was dead, went to join his brother in Mayſſour. On the account the young man gave of the advantageous arms of the Europeans, and their addreſs in managing great guns, Iſmael Saeb diſpatched a Guebre to Bombay, to purchaſe cannon, and muſquets with bayonets.——This Perſian, who died in 1767, purchaſed two thouſand muſquets, and ſix pieces of cannon, of the governor of Bombay. He likewiſe enrolled thirty European ſailors, of different nations, that he collected on the coaſt of Malabar, to ſerve as cannoniers.

Iſmael Saeb, brother to Ayder, was thus the firſt Indian who formed a corps of Seapoys armed with firelocks and bayonets, and who had a train of artillery ſerved by Europeans. This procured him new advantages over the enemies of the king of Mayſſour, and increaſed the eſteem and friendſhip of that prince for him.

Nand Raja, brother to the king of Mayſſour, and Dayva *, having formed an army to make a deſcent

* Nand Raja was Dayva, which ſignifies regent, as Ayder is at preſent. It will hereafter be ſeen how this prince loſt the regency.

a deſcent upon the coaſt of Coromandel, and join that of the Engliſh, Ayder, at the recommendation of his brother, obtained the command of the cavalry of this army. The Engliſh, aided by the Mayſſourians, forced the French troops, combined with thoſe of Chanda Saeb, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, and to give up the Pagod of Schirnigam, in which they had taken refuge. It was on this occaſion that Chanda Saeb was made priſoner. Nand Raja afterwards quarrelling with the Engliſh, M. Dupleix formed an alliance with him; and it was agreed to lay ſiege to Trichnapoli, a ſtrong place on the river Caveri, with an army compoſed of French forces, together with thoſe of Mayſſour, and thoſe of Chanda Saeb *, Nabob of Arcot. The Engliſh, who were the allies of Mehemet Ali Khan †, competitor of Chanda Saeb, had then a garriſon in Trichnapoli.

When the French ſet out from Pondicherry, in 1752, to join Nand Raja, they were harraſſed in their march by a body of Mahratta cavalry, commanded by a chief allied with the Engliſh. On this occaſion the commandant of the French troops wrote to the regent of Mayſſour to ſend him a reinforcement.

Ayder was ſent to his aſſiſtance, at the head of eighteen hundred horſe. It was then that Ayder began to be known to the French, and to acquire ſome reputation among the Europeans, whence he had his pretended name of Andernec. Before that time, the French, the Engliſh, and other European nations, had very little connection

* Chanda Saeb, as has been ſhewn in the Introduction, was the Nabob acknowledged by the French.

† See the Introduction.

connection with, or knowledge of, the interior parts of the country; and there was not perhaps two Frenchmen at Pondicherry that could converſe in the language of the Mogols, which is a kind of Perſian, and is commonly called Moors. The officers and ſoldiers had no other interpreters than their Dabaſhis, or Malabar domeſtics, who knew only their own language and a ſort of corrupt Portugueſe. The Malabar language, though very regular, is perhaps the pooreſt language in being: ſo that the word *Dore* ſignifies Mr. or Sir; and to expreſs the word governor, general, or *the ſuperior Sir*, they ſay *Peri-dore*, which is *the great Sir*, or *Maſter*: and, in the ſame manner, to denote any chief whatſoever, the Malabar language has only the word *Naic*; and they uſe *Tanjaor Naic* to ſignify the king or Raja of Tanjaor: and *Narim Naic*, and *Chabri Naic*, to denote the ſerjeant Narim, or the corporal Chabri: and the name *Ayder Naic* implying the chief Ayder, the French have formed it into Andernec. It is this name of Naic that has cauſed it to be imagined that Ayder had been a corporal of Seapoys. He was then called Ayder Saeb, which is the ſame as Mr. Ayder. His name was enlarged in proportion as his power increaſed, as the cuſtom is among the Mogols; and he is now called Ayder Ali Khan.

When the French army had joined that of Mayſſour, Ayder *, whoſe camp then formed the left wing of the Mayſſourian army, came and encamped himſelf to the right of the French, in ſpite

* M. de Maiſſin, who commanded the French at that time, is the author of this anecdote, which ſufficiently confutes the ſeveral ſtories that have been circulated reſpecting Ayder's intentions.

ſpite of all the arguments of the French commandant, and the regent of Mayſſour; and, however diſagreeable it was to the French to ſee themſelves as it were cooped up, he would not remove from the ſtation he had aſſumed. He informed the commandant that he wiſhed to be near the French, that he might learn from them the art of war. In fact, he was very attentive and exact in obſerving every thing that paſſed in the French camp; and cauſed ſeveral of their evolutions * to be repeated, as well as was in his power, in his own camp.—This repetition cauſed ſome diverſion to the French officers and ſoldiers, whom he was attentive to pleaſe by his politeneſs and good manners. But it was not with any ſatisfaction they obſerved that Ayder had drawn the moſt active and intelligent French ſoldiers into his ſervice. He had ſtill in his ſervice, in 1770, the Sieur Stenet †, ſon of a *Cent-Suiſſe* of Verſailles, who was a volunteer at the ſiege of Trichnapoli in 1753: he took him at that time into his ſervice, and ſent him to his brother in Mayſſour, as he did every other Frenchman that choſe to engage in his ſervice. Theſe enrollments were made with ſome dexterity; and, as there was need of his ſervices, the French commandant winked at the irregularity of the proceeding.

General Lawrence, who was then only major, attempting to throw ſome ſuccours and a convoy into Trichnapoli, received a conſiderable check; of which, in his Memoirs, he gives all the honour to Ayder and his cavalry. Engliſh jealouſy

* Ayder, though general of cavalry in the army of Mayſſour, had troops of his own.—The left is the poſt of honour in India.

† He was then captain in the artillery.

ſy perhaps induced him to diminiſh the merit of the French; but it is certain that Ayder diſtinguiſhed himſelf highly on this occaſion.

In 1755, Nand Raja * having quitted the French to return to Mayſſour, Ayder made a particular treaty with M. Dupleix, by which he engaged to remain with his troops, forming a body of ſix thouſand men, till the capture of Trichnapoli; and he did not return to Mayſſour till Mr. Goehen, ſucceſſor to Mr. Dupleix, had made a truce with the Engliſh, and given orders to raiſe the ſiege of Trichnapoli. In 1756, Ayder being informed of the death of his brother, as he was on his way to rejoin him, haſtened to receive the ſucceſſion that had devolved to him by the law; his brother having no male children. This death put him in poſſeſſion of a handſome fortreſs, a fertile territory, and a body of troops, which, joined to his own, amounted to above fifteen thouſand men, including two hundred Europeans, and three thouſand of excellent cavalry. The king of Mayſſour having the ſame confidence in him as his brother Iſmael, appointed him generaliſſimo of his army.

The kings of Mayſſour being Bramins, had united the royal dignity and the prieſthood; and, to be more venerable in the eyes of their people, they affected to appear in public only twice a year; namely, on thoſe days when they preſided at the ſolemn ceremonies of their religion. And in order to appear ſolely occupied with the ſacred

* The cauſe of the retreat of Nand Raja with the army of Mayſſour, was, that M. de Buſſi, with a body of French, had accompanied Salaberzing, Suba of Decan, when he came to Syringpatnam, capital of Mayſſour, and exacted contributions.

ſacred myſteries, which they celebrared with pomp and magnificence, they abandoned the government to a Dayva, or regent, who, till the time of Nand Raja, had always been one of the king's neareſt relations. But a Bramin, named Canero, favourite of this prince, perſuaded him to aſſume the government himſelf, and forſake his brother Nand Raja. This laſt, who had neither the capacity nor the application, nor even the firmneſs, neceſſary to ſupport himſelf in this dignity, made no reſiſtance; and preferred baniſhment to the frontier to the hazard of making the leaſt remonſtrance.

Canero having taken entire poſſeſſion of the mind of the king, was declared his miniſter, and charged with the adminiſtration of affairs. Ayder kept his command of the army.

The power, the reputation, and the love of the ſoldiery that were poſſeſſed by Ayder, ought to have ſecured him from the envy and jealouſy of this ambitious miniſter: but Canero, ſacrificing every thing to thoſe paſſions, ventured even to make a private treaty with the Marattas, enemies of the ſtate. In conſequence of this treaty, the Maratta army entered Mayſſour in the rainy ſeaſon, at the moment when Ayder leaſt expected them, and, deceived by Canero, had diſperſed his troops.

The approach of the Marattas, and their ſuperiority in number, obliged him to advance towards Syringpatnam, capital of the kingdom, that offered him a ſure aſylum in the iſland on which the city is ſituated, and which cannot be entered, when the Caveri is ſwelled by the rains, but by the bridge of Syringpatnam.

Canero,

Canero, who, in another ſituation, would have done his utmoſt to have prevented Ayder from entering the royal city, preſſed him to pitch his camp on the iſland. Ayder fell into the ſnare of the perfidious Bramin. He paſſed the bridge and went through the town with his army, which he encamped at the oppoſite extremity of the iſland. The Maratta army ſoon appeared, and inveſted that part of the river, where it is fordable in the uſual ſtate of the waters.

Ayder, having no ſuſpicion of the treachery of Canero, depended on the well-furniſhed magazines of the city for the ſubſiſtence of his troops. But he was in the higheſt aſtoniſhment, the day after the arrival of the Marattas, when he beheld the gates of the city ſhut; and was informed that Canero had determined that the whole army ſhould periſh, either by hunger or the cannon of the city, unleſs they delivered up Ayder to the king, who had ſtrong reaſons for ſecuring his perſon. This account convinced Ayder that Canero had ſworn his deſtruction. He ſent ſeveral officers to treat with him; but the day was conſumed without effect. When the night was cloſed in, he ſent for the chiefs of the different corps into his tent. He thanked them for their fidelity to him, and aſſured them that he would not be the cauſe of the loſs of ſo many brave men. He adviſed them to arrange their affairs, at the break of day, as well as they could, with Canero; and informed them that he ſhould determine for himſelf in the courſe of that very night. At the ſame time he gave ſix months pay and gratification to the whole army, which was diſtributed to the ſoldiers before any treaty was made with Canero. He then em-

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braced the principal officers, telling them that he depended on their friendſhip when a favourable opportunity might arrive; and afterwards diſmiſſed them. About midnight, aſſembling thirty of his men on whoſe fidelity and bravery he could rely, he committed a quantity of gold to the charge of each; and, putting himſelf at their head, attempted to paſs the river by ſwimming. He ſucceeded; and happily eluding the Maratta army, kept a direct courſe, without ſtopping, till he arrived at Benguelour, which is thirty leagues diſtant from Syringpatnam.

When he came near this fortreſs, he ſent one of his friends to his uncle Ibrahim Saeb, to whom he had entruſted the government, to inform him, that though he had formerly poſſeſſed lands, fortreſſes, treaſures, and an army, he had now no more remaining than thirty friends, who were determined to ſhare his fortune; that he therefore begged him to ſay, with ſincerity, whether he could ſtill rely on his friendſhip; and that his anſwer would determine whether he ſhould come to Benguelour, or ſeek an aſylum elſewhere. His uncle having received this meſſage, mounted his horſe, and returned with the meſſenger of Ayder. "Courage!" ſaid he, on meeting his nephew, "nothing is loſt that you have truſted in my hands; and God will aſſiſt you to recover the reſt." Ayder embraced him, and they entered Benguelour.

Seeing himſelf thus in poſſeſſion of a ſtrong place, he began to hope for the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs; and his wiſhes were ſoon partly realized, by the unforeſeen arrival of almoſt all his cavalry, which the brave Moc-

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tum Saeb, his brother-in-law, brought after him.

At the time that Canero was in treaty with the chiefs of Ayder's army, Moctum ſeizing the inſtant of a ſudden and unexpected decreaſe of the Caveri, croſſed the river at the head of three thouſand horſe; and overthrowing every force the Marattas brought to oppoſe him, he opened a paſſage, and arrived at Benguelour by favour of the woods and mountains he was perfectly acquainted with, having loſt a very inconſiderable number of men.

Ayder made uſe of every reſource. He raiſed troops with the utmoſt celerity; and being neceſſarily on the defenſive, he began a war of ſtratagem with the Marattas, ſeconded by his brother-in-law, and aſſiſted by the nature of the country.

In the year 1760, at the time he was buſied in defending his own proper home, Pondicherry being in great danger, he detached ſeven thouſand men, at the requeſt of Mr. Lally, to aſſiſt the French, under the command of his brother-in-law Moctum.

Moctum, in his way to Pondicherry, placed a garriſon in the fortreſs of Thiagar, which the Sieur Mariol put into his hands, by order of Mr. Lally; and the garriſon of that place, conſiſting of three hundred French and twelve hundred ſeapoys, having joined the army of Ayder, Moctum, after repelling a party of the Engliſh, who pretended to diſpute the paſſage of a river, encamped on the glacis of Pondicherry, where he remained two months; and threw ſeveral convoys into the place, without being able to prevail on M. Lally to encamp without the town.

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He returned to Ayder, bringing with him all the French cavalry under the Sieurs Alain and Hughel, and ſuch workmen, as were at Pondicherry: a precious acquiſition, which has highly contributed to the ſucceſs of Ayder, by furniſhing him with ſkilful armourers, carpenters, and other workmen from the arſenal of Pondicherry, collected with much expence and trouble by the French. Moctum, in his return, paſſing by Thiagar, withdrew his garriſon; and the French replaced ſome ſeapoys in the ſame: Moctum ſaying, with a generous ſpirit of integrity, that as the place was to have been the reward for delivering Pondicherry, juſtice required him to reſtore it, ſince he had failed in the attempt.

This action, however, may perhaps have been more political than generous. But the fact is, that Thiagar was not ſurrendered to the Engliſh till after the capture of Pondicherry.

During the abſence of Moctum, Ayder made a truce with the Marattas, a nation very averſe to long wars. This Nabob, eſteeming the French in the higheſt degree, ſaw with great ſatisfaction a fine corps of cavalry of that nation in his army; and he was ſtill more rejoiced to behold them accompanied by a body of workmen, for want of whoſe aſſiſtance he was in no ſmall diſtreſs. His brother-in-law, who had conciliated the affection of all who knew him, was doubtleſs entitled to the moſt honourable reception. Ayder, on the contrary, received him with coolneſs, and even with indignation; making it a crime that he had not accompliſhed the object of his miſſion, by raiſing the ſiege of Pondicherry; and, without waiting for his reply, he degraded him to the rank of ſimple cavalier, as being unworthy

worthy of any command. This treatment, which aſtoniſhed all the world, was highly mortifying to the officers and ſoldiers who had borne a part in the expedition. Many of them, particularly the French, ſpoke to Ayder in favour of his brother-in-law; but he appearing always in anger, but at the ſame time willing to do juſtice, conſented to aſſemble all the chiefs of his army, and allowed the friends of Moctum to give a detail of his conduct during the expedition to Pondicherry. The whole aſſembly unanimouſly extolling the merit of Moctum, Ayder ordered his grand ſavari * to be immediately prepared; and being on his march to the houſe of his brother-in-law, followed by the whole aſſembly, he met him in the † bazar, where he was walking on foot like a common ſoldier. As ſoon as Ayder ſaw him, he deſcended from his elephant, approached Moctum and embraced him cordially ſeveral times, and addreſſed him nearly in theſe words: "I find, by the account "of your friends, that I was wrong in blaming "your conduct, and was going to your houſe "to make an apology for my error. I am happy that I have met you, that the ſatisfaction "I make may be the more public." Then cauſing him to mount the king's own elephant, he conducted him to his own houſe, riding before him on horſeback, with all his attendants in proceſſion, and followed by the people and ſoldiery;

* *Savari* is a word that ſignifies the grand retinue of the ſovereign on occaſions of ceremony. It will be deſcribed in a future part of this work.

† The bazar is that part of the city or camp where the ſhops of the merchants are ſituate. The ſtreets of the bazar being uſually covered, it is common to walk there.

ſoldiery; who, happy at the reconciliation of Ayder with Moctum, ſang his praiſes, in which his brother-in-law was not forgotten.

The conduct of Ayder in this tranſaction was founded in juſtice; but, according to all appearance, it was not leſs the effect of policy. He was then looking forward at a great fortune, and was deſirous of convincing his officers, that, as he had not ſpared his brother-in-law, who was his deareſt friend, he ſhould not fail in puniſhing any neglect of duty in them.

Ayder loſt no time in turning the arrival of the French to his advantage. He ſpread the news by his emiſſaries, magnifying their number; and, avowing his intention to march to Syringpatnam, he invited all the great men of Mayſſour to join him for the purpoſe of delivering the king from the power of the treacherous Canero, and to reſtore the government in conformity to the laws of the kingdom. Nand Raja, who had always held a ſecret correſpondence with Ayder, quitted his exile and joined him; and it is ſaid, that he furniſhed him with large ſums of money to raiſe troops and increaſe his army.

Canero, knowing the activity of Ayder, was not remiſs in his preparations. He collected an army vaſtly more numerous than that of Ayder; and, by virtue of careſſes and rewards, gained to his party thoſe Europeans who had managed the artillery of Ayder before his flight. His artillery was, beſides, far ſuperior in number and quality, ſo that he did not fear to go out of the town, and waited for Ayder at Cenapatnam, an open village ſeven leagues diſtant from Syringpatnam.

The

The two armies were encamped at the diſtance of three leagues aſunder. The dependence of Ayder on his own troops, and hopes he had been encouraged to form from his French ſuccours, did not prevent his employing ſtratagem againſt his enemy. Succeſs attended his attempts.

There was a lady at Syringpatnam, commonly called the old Dayva, becauſe her huſband, brother of the king and of Nand Raja, had been regent or Dayva of the kingdom.

This lady had poſſeſſed great power during the regency of her huſband, who left her extremely rich. Nand Raja, her brother-in-law, on his acceſſion to the regency, had not that reſpect and conſideration ſhe thought were due to her: from that moment ſhe declared herſelf his enemy, and contributed much to his loſs of the regency. This princeſs had always protected Ayder and his brother; and, as her conduct was not very exemplary, the ſcandalous chronicle affirmed, that Ayder and his brother ſhared her private favours. Though diſtant from Syringpatnam, Ayder had always kept up an intimate correſpondence with this lady, who was not a friend to Canero, though apparently, from policy, much attached to him. On the aſſurance that Ayder gave her, that Nand Raja ſhould never be regent, ſhe promiſed to ſerve him to the utmoſt of her power, and even ſupplied him with large ſums of money.

Ayder, to make every advantage of the friendſhip of this lady, on whom he had an entire reliance, tranſmitted to her fictitious letters, addreſſed to the principal heads of the army of Canero,

in which he appeared to preſcribe, in conſequence of an agreement long eſtabliſhed, operations to be made by them upon certain ſignals appointed by Ayder. The intention of theſe manœuvres was apparently that of ſurrounding Canero at the commencement of the battle, and preventing his eſcape. The lady having received theſe letters, repaired to the camp of Canero the night preceding the battle: ſhe gave him the letters; and, by an artful converſation on the buſineſs, increaſed the conſternation of the miniſter, the conſequence was, that he immediately retired to Syringpatnam, leaving the command of the army to an old general named Pirkhan, whom he believed to be in his intereſts, but who was really the friend of Ayder.

Ayder, informed of every thing as it happened, marched with his army at the break of day to approach that of Canero, thrown into great agitation by his departure. The news of this precipitate march augmented the confuſion, and the general was by no means deſirous of removing it. A number of deſerters from Canero's army arrived in the camp of Ayder, with the news of his flight. As ſoon as that Nabob heard their report, he cauſed his army to halt, and ſent a meſſenger to the general of the other army to propoſe a conference, publicly aſſuring him, that his exertions were directed againſt the traitor Canero, and not the king and kingdom of Mayſſour. Pirkhan, after taking the advice of the principal chiefs of his army, conſented to a conference with Ayder and Nand Raja, in the preſence of the two armies; when it was reſolved, to the great ſatisfaction of the ſoldiers, that they ſhould unite, and form but one army; and that a deputation ſhould be ſent immediately to the king

king of Mayſſour, praying him to drive the traitor Canero out of the kingdom, as a declared enemy of the king and the ſtate. When the two armies were united, Ayder, to the ſurpriſe of every one, commanded before him the Europeans who had formerly been attached to his ſervice and that of his brother: he made them ground their arms, and, giving every one a ſtroke, after the manner of the Indians, when they diſhonour or degrade any one, he drove them out of his camp. He was induced to this ſeverity, as he ſaid, becauſe theſe ſoldiers, having been loaded with favours by his brother and himſelf, were the only men of all his troops who had preſumed to carry arms againſt him. The French cavalry from Pondicherry were preſent at this execution, and pretended to approve it.

The deputation from the army being arrived at Syringpatnam, the anſwer of the king, dictated, no doubt, by Canero, was, that they were traitors, and that the king would puniſh them. On this anſwer, it was reſolved to lay ſiege to Syringpatnam; which was immediately done, to prevent Canero from calling in the aſſiſtance of the Marattas.

The inhabitants of the city had no ſooner heard the report of a few cannon, than they aſſembled, and remonſtrated in ſtrong terms againſt Canero, excited, moſt probably, by the dowager Dayva; who at length prevailed on the king to deliver Canero to the army, and to declare Ayder regent inſtead of Nand Raja, who expected the appointment, and ſuppoſed Ayder would be contented with the poſt of generaliſſimo.

Upon his accepting the regency, Ayder made every ſubmiſſion to appeaſe Nand Raja. He

gave him a conſiderable territory, and made a promiſe, both in writing and by oath, that he would never make any attempt on his liberty, property, or life, but would always regard him as his father.

Ayder afterwards cauſed the Bramin doctors to be aſſembled to judge Canero. He was condemned to death for having invited a foreign enemy into the kingdom, and levying war againſt the king's moſt faithful ſubjects. By virtue of his power as regent, Ayder ſpared his life, and commuted his puniſhment into that of being ſhut up in an iron cage in the middle of the moſt public place of Benguelour; where it is ſtill to be ſeen, with the bones of this unhappy favourite, who lived two years in the cage, expoſed to the inſults of a populace that adored Ayder.

As a beginning of his performance of the duty of a regent, Ayder cauſed an exact account to be made out of the royal revenues, together with the treaſure and jewels. He found that the greateſt part of the jewels, inſtead of being in the treaſury, were in pawn with the court banker *, who had advanced money when Salabetzing,

* In every great city of Indoſtan, eſpecially thoſe where courts are kept, there are rich bankers, named Sarcars. They are all Guzerats, or natives of that country. Their integrity or credit, as well as their ſkill in buſineſs, is much eſteemed. Their buſineſs is properly that of bankers, borrowing or lending money, furniſhing or taking letters of exchange on all places, not excepting even thoſe at which they have no correſpondence. In this laſt caſe, they make uſe of money porters, who carry money to any diſtance, charging their carriage at per league. Theſe men may be depended on; and it is related, that one of them having carried off a conſiderable ſum belonging to a banker at Madras, the reſt of the people following the ſame occupation aſſembled, and reimburſed the banker, tho' under no obligation to do it; and two of them immediately repaired to Goa, where the thief had taken refuge, and, cutting

betzing, Suba of Decan, accompanied by M. Buſſi, came as far as the gates of Syringpatnam, and forced the king of Mayſſour to pay contributions.

Ayder being informed that this man had acquired the whole of his immenſe fortune in the ſervice of the ſtate, was diſpleaſed that he had demanded pledges on lending money to the government. He ordered the jewels to be taken out of his hands, and his due paid him; but at the ſame time nominated a commiſſion to inſpect his accounts. The commiſſioners having found him guilty of fraud and extortion in his dealings with the ſtate, condemned him to perpetual impriſonment and confiſcation of all his property. The luxury of this banker was enormous. It is ſaid that his children had cradles of gold ſuſpended from the ceiling by chains of the ſame metal. Ayder cauſed the judgment to be put in execution, but gave him a penſion to ſubſiſt on; and placed his ſons in the ſervice, where they have been preferred.

Order and regularity were ſoon eſtabliſhed in the finances, and Ayder then proceeded to com-

cutting off his head, brought it to Madras, where it was carried to all the bankers to be ſeen, in order that the puniſhment of the crime might enſure a continuation of their confidence. Letters of exchange are far more ancient in India than in Europe; but are not drawn to order, which creates a difficulty in caſe of the death or abſence of the perſon in whoſe favour they are drawn. This difficulty is in ſome meaſure obviated by naming ſeveral perſons in the ſame bill: ſo that the letter of exchange drawn by an Indian banker runs, "Pay to John, or in his abſence to Peter, or in his abſence to James, &c."

Beſides dealing in money, theſe bankers traffic likewiſe in precious ſtones, coral, pearls, and gold and ſilver plate. Some of them are very rich; and there are inſurance companies of great credit at Surat, at Madras, and at Calcutta, entirely compoſed of Guzerat bankers.

pel a number of petty tyrants, known by the name of Palleagers *, to evacuate their fortreſſes. He was under the neceſſity of uſing force with ſome of them, but the greater part treated with him in a friendly manner. He compelled likewiſe many Rajas, vaſſals and tributaries to the kingdom of Mayſſour, to acknowledge their dependence, and pay the tribute with punctuality and exactneſs. He likewiſe obliged many neighbouring kings, ſuch as the kings of Canara, the Marattas, and the Patane Nabobs of Canour, Carpet, and Sanour, to reſtore the lands they had uſurped from the kingdom of Mayſſour. But he did not accompliſh all this without declaring war, and obtaining many victories over them. The Patanes were dreaded through all Indoſtan, for their valour and their perfidy. Ayder acquired great reputation by the ſignal victory he gained over the three Nabobs, near Sanour; for which he was indebted to the bravery and ſpirited evolutions of the French cavalry under M. Hughel.

This victory of Sanour induced Bazaletzing, king of Adonis, and brother of Nizam Ali Khan, Suba of Decan, to ſend an embaſſy to him.

Thoſe princes were at war with the Marattas, who had lately received a conſiderable check on the banks of the Kiſna, in a battle they had loſt againſt the united armies of the Grand Viſir † of the empire, and of Abdalla, king of the

* The Palleagars are people who inhabit caſtles or ſmall fortreſſes. There are many in India, but there does not exiſt one in all the dominions of Ayder. This name is given only to Gentoos, and is not properly applied to Mogols.

† This Grand Viſir was Sha Abadin Khan, or otherwiſe named Suja Dowla, who ſucceeded his grandfather Nizam El Moulouc, and

the Patanes *, in which ſixty thouſand Marattas were left on the ſpot.

Bazaletzing had laid ſiege to Scirra, a ſtrong place ſituated between his dominions and the kingdom of Mayſſour, and gives the title to a Subaſhip; of which the whole diſtrict has been either ſeized by the Marattas, or united to the Subaſhip of Decan. This prince imagined, that taking advantage of the defeat of the Marattas, he ſhould eaſily get poſſeſſion of Scirra, and, by that means, become of equal rank with his brother, by acquiring the title of Suba. But, his army not being equal to the undertaking, he experienced a reſiſtance that would have reduced

and his father Grouzeddy Khan.—He is, beſides, ſovereign of an extenſive territory on the Ganges.

* This Abdallah is king of Candahar. When he had joined his army to that of Suja Dowla, they drove the Marattas from Delhi as far as Kiſna, where the fugitives croſſed the river, and waited to defend the paſſage. The Patanes and the Mogols ſeveral times attempted to croſs the river, but could not ſucceed, many Patanes being taken priſoners in the attempt. Raguba, general of the Marattas, cauſed them to be brought before him, and propoſed to them to join the Marattas. They replied, that Mahometans were not made to ſerve, but to command other men. Raguba demanded, if they were ſtronger or more courageous than other men? To which they replied, Give us arms, and you ſhall ſee. As they were very few in number, Raguba cauſed arms to be given them; and they inſtantly fell upon the Marattas, who were obliged to put them all to the ſword. Abdallah and Suja Dowla, finding too much difficulty in forcing a paſſage over the Kiſna, made uſe of ſtratagem. They pretended to quarrel, and Abdalla departed, as if intending to return to his own dominions. Raguba, being adviſed of this, paſſed the Kinſa to attack Suja Dowla, who pretended to avoid him; but, ſending intelligence to Abdallah, the two allies joined, and faced their enemy. The Marattas were attacked, and gave way; and, being vigorouſly followed, they loſt ſixty thouſand men, for want of time to repaſs the Kiſna. Raguba was general only for the minority of Madurao, his nephew, whom he cauſed to be aſſaſſinated. The Marattas did not ſuffer him to retain the regency during the minority of the ſon of Madurao, but expelled him. He took refuge among the Engliſh at Bombay, who eſpouſed his cauſe. This is preciſely the event that occaſioned the war between the Marattas and that European nation.

him to the ſhameful neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege, if he had not been adviſed to form an alliance with Ayder; who was enchanted to find himſelf ſought after by a prince of ſo elevated a rank. He did not, however, conſent to join his army till he had previouſly made an advantageous treaty. In this treaty it was agreed, that Ayder ſhould appear before Scirra with his army, and a numerous artillery; that Bazaletzing and himſelf ſhould carry on the ſiege conjointly, till the place was taken; that as ſoon as it ſhould ſurrender, each army ſhould take poſſeſſion on its reſpective ſide of attack; that all the artillery, ammunition, and in general every thing that could be carried away, ſhould be the ſhare of Bazaletzing, who ſhould either take it in kind, or receive the value from Ayder; and, that this laſt ſhould take poſſeſſion of the place.

Ayder being arrived before the place with a well-diſciplined army, and a grand train of artillery ſerved by Europeans, made his attack in a manner very different from that made uſe of by Bazaletzing. By ſucceſsful undermining, he blew up two baſtions and the curtain, which forced the beſieged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and increaſed the terror his arms had ſpread over the extenſive empire of India.

In the execution of the treaty between theſe two princes, Bazaletzing, who was always afterwards called the Merchant by Ayder, preferred the receiving money for his ſhare of the capture; and beſides, engaged to ſolicit his brothers, the Grand Viſir, and the Suba of Decan, to cauſe Ayder to be acknowledged Suba of Scirra, which immediately took effect, the Grand Viſir

Viſir * ſending him an embaſſy with the Paravana which declared him Suba of Scirra, with all the honours annexed to the title, as the round palanquin †, the fiſhes head, &c. It was thus that Ayder, born a private perſon, found himſelf raiſed to the rank of the greateſt princes of India ‡; and, from a ſubject of the king of Mayſſour, he became his ſuperior; the kingdom of Mayſſour, which is held of the Mogol emperor, having been comprized in his Subaſhip. At the time of his receiving the title and honours of Suba of Scirra, he engaged to make war on the Marattas; who had then ſeen the end of their empire, if the princes, ſons of Nizam El Moulouc, had poſſeſſed as much courage and intelligence as Ayder; and if, more eſpecially, the king of the Patanes had not abandoned his allies, and returned into his own country, ſatisfied with the immenſe plunder he had obtained.

Ayder, continuing the war with ſucceſs againſt the Marattas, took Markſira and Maggheri, ſtrong places in the diſtrict of Scirra, as well as the kingdom of Biſnagar or Baſſapatnam. But the Marattas having collected their forces againſt

* The Mogol empire was then in a ſtate of anarchy, the emperor being no more than an ineffectual name. Allumſha, one of the princes of the Mogol blood, had retired to Ilha Hadabad, where he aſſumed the title of Great Mogol; but Suja Dowla acknowledged another young prince, then an infant. His uncles Nizam Dowla, Suba of Decan, Bazaletzing, king of Adonis, and Ayder by complaiſance for Suja Dowla, acknowledged the ſame prince, but merely by name, without rendering any obedience or ſubmiſſion to either him or his viſir, who was preſumed to have the regency.

† Theſe honours are marks of the dignity of Suba, and will be explained in a future page.

‡ The Subas are at preſent the greateſt princes in India, and regard themſelves as the repreſentatives of the emperor. They are above the tributary kings of the empire.

him, he, by the puſillanimity of his allies, had nearly loſt his life, having received a ſtroke on the head with a ſabre, in a battle in which neither ſide gained the victory. A few days afterwards he concluded a truce for three years; and preſerved his conqueſts by paying a ſum of money to the general of that nation.

This war was ſcarcely finiſhed, when a new opportunity preſented itſelf for extending the power and reputation of Ayder. The ſon of the queen of Canara had eſcaped from Rana Biddeluru, capital of that kingdom and came to the Suba at Biſnagar, to implore his aſſiſtance, that his mother might be compelled to put him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, of his anceſtors; the regency of which ſhe had held ſince the death of her huſband, the late king, and father of the young prince, and ſtill retained it, though her ſon had arrived at the age preſcribed by law for him to take charge of the government himſelf.

As the kingdom of Canara was comprized in the Subaſhip of Scirra, the prince could carry his complaint with propriety to no other tribunal than that of Ayder. The young prince was therefore favourably received, and his mother was cited, by an ambaſſador of Ayder, to appear before the Suba at a time fixed.

This woman, who poſſeſſed a degree of courage unuſual in her ſex, and who, from the anarchy that had long reigned in the Mogol's empire, was habituated to deſpiſe the orders of the emperor and his officers, replied to the ambaſſador of Ayder, that ſhe was queen, and knew no ſuperior. On this anſwer, which Ayder expected, war was determined on againſt the queen; but

but the nature of the country promiſed to throw many difficulties in the way of the expedition.

Rana Biddeluru, capital of the kingdom of Canara, is one of the largeſt and beſt peopled cities of India. It contains at leaſt fifty thouſand ſouls; among whom are about thirty thouſand Chriſtians, who have great privileges. This conſiderable population is, however, by no means proportionate to the extent of the city, whoſe circuit exceeds three leagues. It will not be found that this is an exaggeration, when, it is conſidered, that there are ſtreets in it, nearly in a right line, of two leagues in length. Beſides, the greateſt part of the ground on which the town ſtands is inhabited by great men and nobility, whoſe houſes are each in the midſt of a large garden, encloſing vaſt baſons or reſervoirs of water, as well for the purpoſes of pleaſure as utility. A prodigious number of trees, planted in theſe gardens, ſhade all the ſtreets; which are watered on each ſide by a rivulet of clear and limpid water, and have no other pavement than a fine gravel.

This beautiful city is ſituated near a ſmall mountain, at whoſe ſummit is a conſiderable fortreſs, ſince much more ſtrongly fortified by Ayder. The mountain is in a plain about five or ſix leagues in diameter, environed by mountains and foreſts that extend for more than twenty leagues every way, and are not to be paſſed but by narrow paſſages, defended by forts at a ſmall diſtance from each other. Theſe circumſtances render the acceſs to the city extremely difficult for an army, that may be

be checked at every ſtep by an inconſiderable force, and cannot encamp but in the length of a ſtony paſſage, where it is liable to be attacked by the people of the country, who know all the ſecret paſſages, and can continually lay in ambuſh to annoy their enemy. The woods cannot be cut down, much leſs burned *, without infinite labour; and they are filled with tygers, bears, elephants, and every ſpecies of venemous reptiles.

A maſs of ſuch almoſt inſuperable obſtacles as preſented themſelves to Ayder, ought to have deterred him from his enterprize, if he had not been accompanied by the young prince, who was beloved by the people and the men in power; while the queen his mother was deteſted by them, as well for her haughtineſs and pride, as for having contracted a ſecond marriage with a Bramin, contrary to the law of the place, which prohibits the widows of their kings from marrying a ſecond time.

Ayder, determined to make the attempt, left Biſnagar, carrying with him the prince of Canara, at the head of 6,000 men of his beſt cavalry, and ſome Caleros, men habituated to traverſe the mountains and foreſts. He was followed by a number of oxen † loaded with rice; and with no

* In theſe foreſts are a prodigious number of bamboos, a tree that cannot be burned without firſt cutting it down and drying it.

† Oxen are of the greateſt utility in India, both for draught and carriage. This ſpecies, which is but little varied in Europe, is very much ſo in India, much more than any other ſpecies of animals. There are ſome extremely tall, ſome middle ſized, and ſome ſmall. They work at the plough, draw all ſorts

no other baggage, he advanced, by forced marches, towards the capital of Canara. His movement was ſo rapid, that he paſſed on without finding any obſtacle, and arrived on the plain of Biddeluru before the queen had received any news of his march. His cavalry, accuſtomed to every kind of ground, terrified the Canarins, who had never beheld a legion of that kind. The good diſcipline obſerved by his troops, and the ſight of the legitimate prince, cauſed Ayder to be received every where as a tutelar divinity.

On his appearance in the plain, his cavalry eaſily diſperſed a part of the queen's army, that attempted to oppoſe his paſſage; and that princeſs, who had ſcarcely time to make her eſcape, was purſued, taken, and conducted into the preſence of the conqueror.

Ayder uſed his victory with the greateſt moderation. He received the queen in the moſt gracious manner, and reconciled her with her ſon; who granted her a conſiderable penſion, allowing her to live with her huſband. To ſatisfy the people, who ardently deſired it, the young prince was proclaimed king: he made homage to the empire for his kingdom, and ſigned the treaty, as well as his mother, and the principal great men of the country.

While theſe tranſactions were performing in the kingdom of Canara, the army of Ayder advanced into the country, and his infantry took poſſeſſion, without reſiſtance, of all the poſts that were

ſorts of carriages, and go very faſt. Some have their horns ſtrait, others curved, and others have none at all. The greater number have a bunch on the back; and generally it is an animal of the greateſt utility, which is ſtill more enhanced by the conſideration, that after doing much ſervice, its fleſh is eatable, and its ſkin tanned for leather.

were neceſſary to ſecure his return, and the ſucceſs of any thing he might think proper to undertake.

Before he engaged in the war that was to place the prince of Canara on the throne of his anceſtors, Ayder made a treaty with him, by which the prince yielded to the Suba the port of Mangalor, with a tract of country to form a communication from thence to the frontiers of the kingdom of Mayſſour. In execution of this treaty, Ayder, after cauſing the new king to be crowned, marched with a party of his troops to take poſſeſſion of Mangalor, leaving a part of his army encamped at the gates of Rana Biddeluru.

The queen of Canara, enraged to find herſelf deprived of the ſovereignty, had pretended to be reconciled with her ſon, and to acknowledge him as king, with no other intention than to wait for an opportunity of deſtroying Ayder. With this hope, and completely to gratify her vengeance, ſhe reſolved on the death of this generous Suba. She therefore endeavoured to gain the confidence of her ſon, whoſe feeble and puſillanimous ſpirit ſhe well knew. She reproached him, with a diſſembled tenderneſs, that, to haſten the beginning of his reign, he had inconſiderately delivered up his kingdom to barbarians, the enemies of his religion, who would leave him only the empty name of king, after depriving him of the moſt valuable part of his dominions, and moſt probably would finith by entirely robbing him of the whole. At length, by force of inſinuations, and under the appearance of a highly diſintereſted perſon, who had reſigned a kingdom to him, ſhe ſucceeded in her endeavours to make him regret the treaty with Ayder; and,

and, continuing to act on his fears of the future intentions of the Suba, ſhe acquired ſuch an empire over his mind, that he was brought to conſent to the aſſaſſination of Ayder, which ſhe had projected in a manner that, in its own nature, was almoſt certain of ſucceſs.

During his ſtay at Rana Biddeluru, Ayder had dwelt in the palace of the kings of Canara, and was of courſe to reſide there on his return. From this palace to a famous pagoda, there was a ſubterraneous communication, known to very few except the queen. The queen had reſolved to undermine the palace, and to blow up Ayder the night of his return, when he ſhould be at table with his principal officers *, hoping that at the inſtant of the cataſtrophe, the people and ſoldiers of Canara, animated by her ſon, might eaſily put the troops of Ayder to the ſword in their firſt confuſion and diſorder.

This project might have been eaſily put in practice by means of her huſband, the ſuperior of the Bramins who belonged to the pagoda. The day of Ayder's return was come, and the moment approached in which this Suba and his retinue were to periſh by treachery; when the plot firſt came to the knowledge of a Bramin, chief of a pagoda ſome leagues diſtant from the city. Whether he was actuated, as the Bramins affirm, by a deteſtation and horror for the crime; or whether his hatred for the queen and her huſband, who were united contrary to their law, was his leading motive; he conveyed himſelf in ſecret to Rana Biddeluru, and, preſenting himſelf before Ayder, as if to compliment him on his

* Ayder, like all the other Indians, makes two meals a day, the firſt at eight in the morning, the ſecond at midnight.

his happy return, he adviſed him openly, in the preſence of the king and queen, of the conſpiracy, and the danger he was in. This aſtoniſhing recital made the whole aſſembly tremble, but made no impreſſion upon Ayder; who, looking round, diſcovered the guilty perſons without difficulty. He ordered them to be ſeized. The witneſſes were heard, and, the truth being eſtabliſhed on the ſpot, the queen, her huſband, and all their accomplices, were put to death, except the king of Canara, who was carried priſoner to Maggheri, near Scirra, and his kingdom was confiſcated.

The diſcovery of this conſpiracy was worth a fine kingdom to Ayder, rich in all ſorts of productions, and having a valuable extent of ſea-coaſt, with a good number of ſea-ports. The immenſe quantities of rice, pepper, cinnamon, cardamoms, coral, ſandal wood, and ivory, that abound in this kingdom, have cauſed it to be called the granary and warehouſe of all India. In the mountains there are mines of gold, diamonds, rubies, and other precious ſtones; and even in the very fortreſs of Rana Biddeluru, there is a rich gold mine. When Ayder took poſſeſſion of the place, he found an immenſe treaſure in gold, coined and in ingots, in trinkets and precious ſtones, that was indeed ſtupendous, if credit may be given to the accounts of the French, who accompanied him in that expedition. They ſay that the prince cauſed pearls and precious ſtones to be meaſured in their ſight with a corn meaſure; and that, having made two heaps of gold and trinkets, they ſurpaſſed the height of a man on horſeback. On this happy occaſion Ayder gratified all his troops with half a year's pay, not excepting thoſe that were in garriſon in different

parts

parts of his dominions. He changed the name of Rana Biddeluru into that of Ayder Nagar, or Royal City of Ayder, and the name of Mangalor, into that of Corial or Port Royal. He aſſumed at the ſame time the title of King of Canara and of the Corgues, a ſmall kingdom ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of Canara, and ſeparated from that kingdom, as well as from the Malabar diſtrict, and the kingdom of Mayſſour, by mountains that entirely encloſe it. It has long been in ſubjection to the kings of Canara.

Ayder, after taking poſſeſſion of the capital, viſited the ſeveral parts of his new dominions, and was every where acknowledged ſovereign with ſcarce any oppoſition. But being deſirous of re-uniting certain cantons of this kingdom, in poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe, he did not find the viceroy of Goa diſpoſed to make this reſtitution; and, as he was far ſuperior in force to the Portugueſe, he did not heſitate to attack them. With little difficulty he got poſſeſſion of the country of Carvar and its fortreſs of Opir *, ſituated in the country of Sunda, formerly diſmembered from the kingdom of Canara. As he was preparing to lay ſiege to the fort of Rama, a fortreſs on the point of a cape of the ſame name, and the only barrier that could ſtop his progreſs to Goa, the French, who were under his command, refuſed to give him the leaſt aſſiſtance, preferring rather to retire into the fort of Rama than

* This fortreſs is much renowned for its ſtrength. Ayder has augmented the fortifications. The Portugueſe and the Marrattas have beſieged it without ſucceſs. It defends the country of Carvar on the Portugueſe ſide, and the entrance of the river Sangheri, that gives its name to a city at three leagues diſtance from its mouth, which is the capital of Carvar, and reſidence of a Catholic biſhop.

than to combat with the Portugueſe: M. Hughel, ſiding with the French, abandoned him likewiſe.

Ayder, knowing it to be impoſſible to take this fort with his own troops, did not heſitate in making peace with the Portugueſe, who yielded him the country of Carvar. This inconſtancy of the French, and other ſimilar events, gave Ayder to underſtand that he ſhould not well ſupport a war with any European power, and that he could not depend upon the Europeans in his ſervice, excepting when they themſelves were at war with his enemies.

When Ayder came a ſecond time to Mangalor, at his return from the war with the Portugueſe, he received a ſolemn deputation from a nation originally from Arabia, but now diſperſed over the whole coaſt of Malabar, and known by the name of Mapelets. At the head of this deputation was Ali, Raga or prince of Cananor. This Ali, ſon of one of the moſt rich and powerful Mapelets, had the good fortune in his youth to be beloved by the daughter of the Raja of Cananor, a Nayre* prince. The father, in ſpite of the diverſity of religion, and the prejudice of his

* The Nayres are the nobility of the Malabar coaſt. We may affirm that they are the oldeſt nobility in the world; for the ancient writers mention them, and quote the law that permits the Nayre ladies to have many huſbands; every one being allowed four. Their houſes, which ſtand ſingle, have as many doors as the lady has huſbands. When one of them viſits her, he walks round the houſe, ſtriking with his ſabre on his buckler: he then opens his door, and leaves a domeſtic with his arms in a kind of porch, and who ſerves to inform others that the lady is engaged. It is ſaid, that one day in the week the four doors are all opened, and all her huſbands viſit her, and dine together with her. Each huſband gives a ſum of money, or portion, at the time of marriage, and the wife only has the charge of the children. The Nayres, even

his nation, which forbids all alliance with a different caſt, and much more with ſtrangers of another religion, conſented to the marriage of his daughter with Ali, and dying, left him his principality, or the ſmall kingdom of Cananor.

The Mapelets ſeem to be Arabs of Marcate and Sahar, who have ſettled in India for the ſake of commerce. This nation, forming no alliance with ſtrangers, has preſerved its peculiar manners, and a particular phyſiognomy, much reſembling that of the Arabs of Marcate, who have generally the face long, the chin ſquare and turned up, and the beard thin. They are lean, and of a ſhort figure, not in the leaſt reſembling the other Arabs, who are large and handſome men, with black thick beards.

The inhabitants of the coaſt of Malabar having ſuffered the Mapelets to take poſſeſſion of all the commerce of their country, as well by ſea as by land, this nation has become rich and numerous, and that with ſtill leſs difficulty, by reaſon that the princes and nobles of the country, having frequent occaſion for money, have often had recourſe to the Mapelets, who lent them large ſums of money at exorbitant intereſt; ſometimes upon pawns, and ſometimes in advance upon the harveſts of pepper, cardamoms, and rice. Theſe repeated * uſuries have increaſed the riches of the

even the Samorin, and the other princes, have no other heirs than the children of their ſiſters. This law was eſtabliſhed, that the Nayres, having no family, might be always ready to march againſt the enemy. When the nephews are of age to bear arms, they follow their uncles. The name of father is unknown to a Nayre child. He ſpeaks of the huſbands of his mother, and of his uncles, but never of his father.

* Though the religion of Mahomet forbids uſury, the Mapelets make no ſcruple in that reſpect, notwithſtanding they are great enthuſiaſts.

the Mapelets, and impoveriſhed the princes or Nabobs of the Malabar coaſt, known by the name of Nayres. The Mapelets grew proud in conſequence of their wealth, and attracted the envy and jealouſy of the Nayres. Theſe laſt, eſpecially the more powerful of them, were not very exact in fulfilling their engagements with the Mapelets; who, on their part, were ſtill more arrogant, when they ſaw Ali, a prince of their nation, elevated to the rank of prince of the country.

In this ſtate of things, Ayder became maſter of the kingdom of Canara; and, conſequently a neighbour of the Malabar coaſt, of which the principality of Cananor is the frontier on the Canara ſide. Ali Raja, and the Mapelets, concluded that they ſhould inſure the poſſeſſion of their ſtates by putting themſelves under the protection of Ayder, who was of the ſame religion, and whoſe power and reputation was capable either to protect or ſubjugate them.

The deputation of the Mapelets was honourably received by Ayder. He loaded their deputies with magnificent preſents, and aſſured them of his protection and good-will. The Mapelets are navigators. Ali Raja had many veſſels then well-equipped, and ready to ſet ſail. Ayder, who had reſolved to have a fleet in order to defend his coaſts from the incurſions of the Marattas and other pirates, created Ali Raja his high admiral, and

enthuſiaſts. The ſhocking effects of their fanaticiſm have been often ſeenat Mahè. In an exceſs of zeal for their religion, the Mapelets intoxicate themſelves with opium, and devote themſelves to death for the ſake of killing Chriſtians and other enemies of their religion. They furiouſly attack and kill all they meet, and do not ceaſe till they are themſelves put to death.

and made his brother, Sheic Ali, intendant of the marine, of the ports, and of the maritime commerce of his dominions.—He intruſted him likewiſe with conſiderable ſums for the purpoſes of purchaſing or of building veſſels.

Ayder with juſtice regarded his kingdom of Canara as the moſt precious gift Providence had beſtowed on him, and the beſt inheritance he could leave to his children. He deſigned Ayder Nagar to be the capital of all his dominions. He cauſed all his family to repair thither, except his firſt wife, the ſiſter of Moctum, and mother of Tippou Saeb, his eldeſt ſon, who deſired to reſide at Benguelour. The intentions of Ayder were, to eſtabliſh in this kingdom a government calculated to make himſelf beloved by his people; and he ſucceeded beyond his hopes.—The government of his other ſtates was ſhared among his relations.

He left the government of Benguelour and its dependencies to Ibrahim Ali Khan, his uncle, who had ſo long enjoyed it. To Moctum Ali Khan * he gave the government of the kingdom of Mayſſour; to Mirza, that of Scirra, and all its diſtrict; and to a ſon of his uncle, named Amin Saeb, the government of the kingdom of Biſnagar.

Ali Raja having formed a ſmall fleet, at the commencement of the fair ſeaſon made the conqueſt of the Maldive iſlands, under the pretence of ſome injuſtice done to his nation; and after taking their king priſoner, he had the cruelty to put his eyes out. This conqueſt was made in the

* In the patents given to his relations on this occaſion, he prolonged their names. Thus, Moctum Saeb, or Mr. Moctum, was called Moctum Ali Khan, or Lord Moctum Ali.

the name, and on the account of Ayder, whoſe colours were borne by the fleet. Ali Raja had embarked on board a number of Seapoys, or diſciplined ſoldiers; ſo that Ayder's colours had no ſooner appeared at ſea, but they enforced reſpect.

Ali Raja having brought back his victorious fleet to Mangalor, came to Nagar to do homage to Ayder, and preſented to him the unfortunate king of the Maldives. Ayder, whoſe character is far from cruel, was ſo irritated at the barbarity of Ali Raja, that he inſtantly deprived him of the command of the fleet; which he afterwards gave to an Engliſhman named Stanet. Shocked at the inhumanity of Ali Raja, he entreated the king of the Maldives to forgive the outrage his admiral had been guilty of; and after expreſſing how much he was afflicted at the event, and uſing every argument in his power to conſole him, he gave him one of his palaces for a retreat, with a revenue ſufficient to procure all the pleaſures his ſituation permitted him to enjoy.

The courtiers and poets of this conqueror's court, little acquainted with geography, having learned that their maſter was become king of twelve thouſand iſlands, added to his titles that of King of the Iſlands of the Sea.

The conqueſt of the kingdom of Canara, that had withſtood the efforts of Aurengzeb; and that of the Maldive iſlands, unknown to the greateſt part of the Mogols, added ſo much to the reputation of Ayder, that almoſt all the princes of Indoſtan diſpatched ambaſſadors to congratulate him on his numerous conqueſts. The poets *, likewiſe

* There are a great number of poets in Indoſtan, eſpecially in the courts, though Ayder does not value himſelf for the protection of

wiſe, did not fail, in their poems, to ſet him above Alexander and Timur.

It was now more than a year that Ayder had not quitted the neighbourhood of Nagar, and that, occupied with the cares of government, and his pleaſures, he appeared to be delighted with a ſtate of repoſe till then unknown to him. At this juncture it was that the protection he had granted to the Mapelets recalled him to the head of his troops, and gave him an opportunity of making new conqueſts.

The Mapelets, proud of the protection of Ayder, gave up that reſpect and complaiſance they had till then preſerved for the Rajas and the other Nayres; they even threatened to do themſelves juſtice by force of arms, if the Nayres did not perform the engagements made with them. The Nayres, whoſe expences had compelled them to multiply the ſums borrowed of the Mapelets, were ſo beſet by that nation of uſurers, that they were unable even to pay the intereſt of the ſums due, and ſaw nothing but ruin in the menaces of the latter.

Irritated as well by the arrogance as by the extortions of a race of people they were in the habit of deſpiſing, they reſolved, at any rate, to diſſolve the connection between them: for this purpoſe ſeveral aſſemblies were held at Calicut, where the Zamorin, or chief of the Nayres reſides, at which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that on an appointed day a general maſſacre of all the Mapelets

of poets and men of letters. There is a poet at court by appointment, who enjoys about 125l. per month, or a thouſand rupees, and the rank of chief or general of a thouſand men: he compoſes a poem on every event that adds to the reputation or glory of the prince.

Mapelets ſhould be every where made. This conſpiracy was in part put in practice, and more than ſix thouſand Mapelets were murdered; though the greater number eſcaped. Their veſſels, ſpread over all the coaſt, favoured their eſcape; and in many places, being forewarned, they aſſembled in ſufficient numbers to reſiſt their enemies. The greater number took refuge at Cananor, where they found themſelves in ſecurity, by reaſon of its vicinity to the dominions of Ayder, as well as from the two ſmall fortreſſes of Cananor, one of which belonged to the Hollanders *, and the other to Ali Raja. The Mapelets, in their diſtreſs, haſtened to ſend deputies to Ayder, to inform him of the cataſtrophe, and implore his protection. This nation, being fanatic Mahometans, their deputies repreſented to Ayder in their harangue, that God, and the prophet whoſe relation he was, had made him powerful

* The Hollanders have ſince ſold their fort and territory to Ali Raja, which gave Ayder an opportunity of doing an act of juſtice to many hundreds of Chriſtians, inhabitants of Cananor, almoſt all of Portugueſe extraction. When the Dutch took Cananor from the Portugueſe they found a number of inhabitants round this fortreſs, whom they permitted to continue in the country. A great number of others have ſince come into Cananor, where they have built houſes, cleared the ground, and cultivated the gardens and fields. The Portugueſe and Dutch had granted the lands without any formality, and poſſeſſion was the only title of theſe poor people: when the Dutch ſold the fort and territory to Ali Raja, they made no ſtipulation in favour of the inhabitants. Ali Raja having demanded their titles, thought proper to force them to purchaſe the lands of which they ſuppoſed themſelves to be proprietors. This avarice of Ali Raja gave occaſion to the Engliſh to rail againſt the Dutch, of whom they had been deſirous of purchaſing the place. In their embaraſſment the poor inhabitants had recourſe to Ayder, who condemned Ali Raja upon the paſſage of the Alcoran, that ſays, "Thou ſhalt not take from the infidel his houſe, his field, &c. becauſe they were given him from God; but thou ſhalt be content with cauſing him to pay tribute." Ayder fixed this tribute at a rupee, or nearly half a crown, a head.

erful for no other reaſon, than that he might protect the true believers; and that the crime of the infidels, which ought to be puniſhed by their deſtruction, would give him an opportunity of forming new conqueſts.

Ayder, who was already inſtructed in the power and force of the empire of the Nayres, and was acquainted with the difficulties that might oppoſe him in the conqueſt of the country, did not heſitate to promiſe juſtice and protection to the Mapelets. He quickly aſſembled twelve thouſand of his beſt troops, of which four thouſand were cavalry, and the reſt infantry, and began his march to the coaſt of Malabar, directing his route by Mangalor and Cananor. All the artillery he took with him conſiſted of four pieces of cannon; and he ordered his fleet to accompany him along the coaſt, to furniſh him with aſſiſtance, as it might be required.

On his arrival at Cananor, he found more than twelve thouſand Mapelets under arms; ill armed, it muſt be confeſſed, but ſuperior in courage to the Nayres, and animated by the deſire of vengeance, and the hope of recovering their loſſes at the expence of their enemies.

Ayder encamped on the banks of the river at Cananor, and diſpatched an embaſſy to Calicut, compoſed of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Bramins * of

* The Bramins (who are the firſt caſt of Indians, deſtined by their legiſlature to be the prieſts of their religion, as the Levites are by the law of Moſes) being become a very numerous body, have been forced to apply themſelves to other employs; and as they do not chooſe to undertake any ſervile employ, they are introduced into courts, where they do all kinds of buſineſs, from the poſt of miniſter to that of ſpy; they are generally writers. Every lord, general, and even the loweſt officers, have them in their ſervice; a great number being forced to acquieſce in the pay of a private ſoldier.

his court. They had orders to repreſent to the Samorin, and all the Nayre princes, the injuſtice of the cruelties they had been guilty of to the Mapelets; and to inform them, that he was come with his army to ſee juſtice done them: but that, before he employed force, he judged it expedient to offer his mediation; promiſing, that if they would puniſh the principal offenders, and give a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction to the Mapelets, his army ſhould not advance into their country; and that he would even undertake the troubleſome office of rendering juſtice to every one. The Nayre princes had agreed to ſupport each other; and upon the report that Ayder was coming againſt them to the aſſiſtance of the Mapelets, they aſſembled an army of more than one hundred thouſand men. The deputies of Ayder having finiſhed their harangue, the Nayre princes replied, that they were aſtoniſhed at the conduct of Ayder, with whom they had never had any connection or dependence; and that if his troops did any thing more than drink the water of the river of Cananor,—if they even preſumed to ſet their feet in the river, they ſhould be attacked and puniſhed for their temerity. On this anſwer the ambaſſadors of Ayder returned to their maſter; and the Nayres, having collected all their forces, appeared with the firm reſolution to prevent Ayder from paſſing the river.

The arrival of Ayder and his army on the Malabar coaſt induced all the European nations who have eſtabliſhments there to ſend deputies to him.

Upon the great reputation of Ayder, it was not doubted but he would make a conqueſt of the whole country. The deputies of every nation

tion were in haſte to treat with him for the ſecurity of their factories and their commerce. As they expected to find this great conqueror at the head of a numerous army, they were aſtoniſhed to ſee ſo ſmall a number of troops: many of them could not help expreſſing their ſurpriſe to the European officers of the army; magnifying, at the ſame time, the forces of the Nayre princes, which they affirmed to exceed one hundred and twenty thouſand men. The officers anſwered, that ſince the Nabob, who had it in his power to aſſemble a much greater army, had brought no more than twelve thouſand men with him, it was to be preſumed, that he was certain that the number he had brought was ſufficient to defeat his enemies. This proper anſwer, which, to inſtructed and enlightened men, would have had its due force, made very little impreſſion on the deputies, who had no notion of the military art, and ſtill leſs of tactics: they made haſte to return to their counting-houſes, well convinced that the little army of Ayder would be deſtroyed by that of the Nayres, who had lined the oppoſite bank of the river with a numerous artillery, and were continually firing and making rhodomontades. Ayder, perfectly acquainted with the genius of all the people of India, held himſelf aſſured of the victory, and founded his expectation on his cavalry; which was a body of troops abſolutely unknown to the Nayres, no foreign army having penetrated as far as the Malabar coaſt, where no horſes had been ever ſeen, except a few belonging to the European chiefs of the factory, and purchaſed by them more for pleaſure than utility: for this country, interſected by rivulets, and covered

with woods, beſides being ſubject to continual rains for ſeven months in the year, is abſolutely improper for the breeding and keeping of horſes.

To ſucceed in his attempt, in ſpite of this numerous army and the artillery, Ayder cauſed his fleet to enter the river. His veſſels ſailed up as far as poſſible; and, drawing up his infantry in order of battle in a ſingle line in face of the enemy, with his twelve pieces of cannon, he waited for the ebb of the water. When the river was at the loweſt he entered it full gallop, at the head of his cavalry, which he had till then kept out of ſight of the Nayres: they were led on by fifty of the French huſſars, lately arrived from Pondicherry. As the rapidity of the current was diminiſhed by his veſſels, he traverſed the river without difficulty at a place where it was a league in breadth, ſometimes ſwimming, and ſometimes wading: he ſoon came to the other river, where the Nayres were buſied in attempting to oppoſe the infantry, who pretended to be on the point of paſſing over. They were frightened at the ſudden appearance of the cavalry, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation and diſorder, without making any other defence but that of diſcharging a few cannon, which they were too much intimidated to point properly. Ayder, foreſeeing this event, had given orders to purſue the fugitives full ſpeed, cutting down all they could overtake, without loſing time, either by taking priſoners, or ſecuring plunder.

This order being executed with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, nothing was to be ſeen in the roads, for the diſtance of four leagues round, but ſcattered limbs and mutilated bodies. The country of the Nayres was thrown into a general conſterna-

tion,

tion, which was much increaſed by the cruelty of the Mapelets, who, following the cavalry, maſſacred all who had eſcaped, without ſparing women or children: ſo that the army advancing under the conduct of this enraged multitude, inſtead of meeting with reſiſtance, found the villages, fortreſſes, temples, and in general every habitable place, forſaken and deſerted. It was not till they were near the environs of Tellicherry and Mahé, French and Engliſh eſtabliſhments, that they began to find people, who had taken refuge near thoſe places.

Notwithſtanding this general defection, the army was in want of nothing: they every where found cows, oxen, poultry, rice, and all ſorts of proviſions that could be wiſhed for in a fertile country; the fugitives having abandoned every thing, without daring to load themſelves with the leaſt article that could impede their flight.

Ayder cauſed his army to halt near theſe ſettlements, and ſent an offer of peace to the Samorin, and other princes, on reaſonable terms. The Samorin, who was old, remained quiet in his palace, and ſent word, that he waited for the conqueror, and truſted to his diſcretion.

This halt of the army, the ſending of ſeveral Bramins, and more eſpecially the tranquillity of the Samorin, encouraged the inhabitants, who returned for the moſt part to their houſes: they were ſtill more encouraged at finding that the Mapelets committed no outrages, except on the perſons or property of Nayres; but the Nayres continued to conceal themſelves in the woods and mountains, from whence they carried on a kind of concealed war with the Mapelets.

Ayder marched for Calicut, and found no other reſiſtance in his route, but from a large pagoda, built on a mountain, and fortified. In this place the nephew and preſumptive heir of the Samorin had taken refuge, and found means to make his eſcape from thence, though it was inveſted: after his departure, the Bramins opened the gates to Ayder. The conqueror continued his journey to Calicut, and took up his reſidence at the Engliſh factory, where his fleet arrived before him. He enquired for the Samorin on his arrival, and was informed that he was in his palace, without any guard, waiting the commands of the conqueror; from whom he hoped for mild treatment, as he had always formally oppoſed the reſolution to maſſacre the Mapelets, and had foretold the conſequences to his nephews.

On this intelligence, Ayder returned into his * palanquin, and gave orders to adviſe the Samorin of his approaching viſit. He met this prince, who came forth and threw himſelf at his feet; Ayder haſtened to raiſe him, and the Samorin offered his preſents, conſiſting of two ſmall baſons of gold, one filled with precious ſtones, and the other with pieces of gold, and two ſmall cannons of gold, with carriages of the ſame metal. The two princes having entered the palace, Ayder teſtified the utmoſt reſpect for the Samorin, and promiſed to reſtore his dominions (on condition of his paying a ſmall annual tribute) as ſoon as his ſubjects had laid down their arms, and the affair of the Mapelets was amicably

* The palanquin is a kind of litter carried by ſix men. It is in common uſe in India, both for travelling and in cities, and is a very eaſy and convenient carriage.

cably ſettled. Theſe two princes parted, apparently much ſatisfied with each other; but the world was highly aſtoniſhed, the next day, to behold the palace of the Samorin on fire; and though Ayder himſelf aſſiſted in procuring help, it was impoſſible to ſave any thing, the edifice being entirely wood; and the Samorin, with all his family, and, as it is preſumed, much treaſure, periſhed in the flames.

This prince had himſelf cauſed the palace to be ſet on fire, being reſolved to terminate his life in that manner, on account of ſome letters he had received from his nephews and the kings of Travancour and of Cochin *. Theſe letters contained the bittereſt reproaches and execrations, treating him as the betrayer of his country, and apoſtate to his religion, which he had abandoned to the Mahometans. The Bramins who had conveyed theſe letters to him avowed to him at the ſame time, that he was degraded and excluded from his caſt; and that all the Bramins and Nayres had ſworn never to have any communication with him. The tragical end of the Samorin affected Ayder extremely: and he was ſo irritated againſt the nephews of that prince, that he publicly ſwore he would never reſtore their dominions.

The princes of Calicut, aſſiſted by the kings of Travancour and Cochin, had collected a conſiderable army on the river of Paniani, twelve leagues from Calicut, where they appeared diſpoſed to make better oppoſition than they did near the river of Cananor. They had even col-

* Theſe two kings were not tributary to the Samorin; but being of the ſame caſt as the Nayres, they made it a common cauſe.

lected together ſome European cannoneers and Portugueſe artiſans; but upon the approach of Ayder, they had not the courage to face him, and ſaved themſelves by precipitately withdrawing their whole army. Ayder paſſed the river, and attacked Paniani, which made very little reſiſtance, though the beſt and almoſt the only fortreſs in the country. He continued to purſue his enemies till he arrived at the environs of Cochin, where, by the mediation of the Hollanders, he made peace with the king of that place, on his engaging to pay tribute.

The example of the king of Cochin was followed by the ſubmiſſion of all the Nayre princes; who ſued for peace, and obtained it on condition of doing homage, paying tribute to Ayder, and rendering ample juſtice each to the Mapelets in his reſpective diſtricts. On theſe terms they were all put into free poſſeſſion of their dominions; the nephews of the Samorin only being excluded from theirs.

After putting garriſons in Calicut and Paniani, Ayder beſtowed the government of this ſtate on the Raja of Coilmoutour, a Bramin, prince of a ſmall country dependant on Mayſſour, and ſeparated from the Nayres only by the mountains. He hoped that this prince, entitled to reſpect from the Nayres, as being a Bramin, would be capable of maintaining peace and order, on account of his intimate knowledge of their manners and cuſtoms.

The rainy ſeaſon, which is very long and tempeſtuous on the coaſt of Malabar, began to appear and obliged Ayder to quit the country: but in order to be at hand to watch his new conqueſt, he

he retired only to Coilmoutour, the reſidence of the Raja, whoſe palace he occupied.

This country is beyond the mountains called *Gates*, and is not ſubject to the rains that overflow the coaſt of Malabar, from the middle of April to the end of September.

Paſſing by Madigheri, a large town and fortreſs on the frontier of the Malabar, at the diſtance of ſix leagues from Coilmoutour, Ayder left Raza Saeb, ſon of Chanda Saeb, in quarters, with three thouſand infantry.

Ayder imagined that the Nayres, awed by his power, and contented with his moderation, would peaceably ſupport the yoke he had placed upon them; but he was not yet ſufficiently acquainted with the characters of that haughty people, who, once offended, never pardon their enemies, however great their wrongs.

The month of May was not yet elapſed, when a general revolt of the Nayres manifeſted itſelf over all the coaſt of Malabar. It commenced by the maſſacre of a ſmall garriſon of about two hundred men, that were ſurpriſed by the inhabitants of a large town, called Pondiaghari, ſituated at the foot of the fortreſs. They carried their cruelty ſo far as to cut off five French ſoldiers, deſerters from Mahé, who, intending to enter into the army of Ayder, arrived in the town the day after the maſſacre: and, as a ſtill greater inſtance of the inhuman rage by which they were actuated, they ripped up two women who accompanied theſe unfortunate ſoldiers.

According to every appearance, this revolt was the effect of the ſecret intrigues of the king of Travancour, and the nephews of the Samorin. It would doubtleſs have been leſs general, if the

Raja of Coilmoutour, Ali Raja, and his brother Sheic Raja, who were intruſted with the charge of ſeeing the Mapelets reimburſed, had been more temperate in their rapines and exactions.

As the immenſe quantities of water that fall in the Malabar country convert the ſmalleſt rivulets into large rivers, and as this country offers an almoſt inſurmountable obſtacle, by the torrents cauſed by the overflowing of the waters, that are met with almoſt at every ſtep, during the rainy ſeaſon; the Nayres, habituated to their climate, and going abſolutely naked in the ſtormy months, believed, with reaſon, that they ſhould have time to take Calicut and Paniani, and deſtroy the Mapelets, before Ayder could enter their country; but they were yet to learn, that their conqueror was not to be ſtopped by obſtacles much greater than thoſe they depended on. They had taken their meaſures ſo effectually, that Raza Saeb, commandant at Madigheri, and Ayder, were ſtill ignorant of their revolt.

Calicut and Paniani were already inveſted by the army of the Nayres, when the news came to Ayder, by means of a Portugueſe ſailor, who, on the promiſes of reward from the governor of Paniani, ventured to aſcend the river of the ſame name alone, in a canoe made of bamboo *, and covered with ſkin. This ſailor travelling only in the night, notwithſtanding the danger of wild beaſts and

* Theſe boats of bamboo, covered with ſkin, are in fact a kind of baſket; and are of admirable uſe in armies, more eſpecially in the Malabar country. Ayder had a great number in his army: two men carried the ſkeleton of one, and two more the ſkin: in a quarter of an hour they are ready for uſe; and one boat will carry twenty-five men, or a piece of cannon. The editor of the Memoirs of General Lawrence makes fifty horſes enter one of theſe boats; but the fact is falſe: the horſe ſwims, and the horſeman, who is in the boat, holds the bridle.

and noxious reptiles, and with no other guide than a pocket compaſs, arrived at Madigheri. He apprized Raza Saeb of the revolt, and the danger to which Ayder's troops at Calicut and Paniani were expoſed.

This general, without loſs of time, cauſed the Portugueſe to be conducted to Ayder at Coilmoutour; and himſelf immediately marched with his forces towards Paniani, in ſpite of the rains, and the inundation under which almoſt all the country was laid by the overflowing of the rivers. This precipitate march made ſome impreſſion on the revolters, as ſoon as they were apprized of it; but hearing that he had brought no cavalry, they detached a party of their army, which harraſſed Raza Saeb at the croſſing of each river, and at length ſucceeded (perhaps by the fault of his guides) to draw him into a place between the meeting of two rivers that joined near Pondiaghari, where he found himſelf ſhut up, without being able to paſs on either ſide, by reaſon of the depth and rapidity of the water; and cut off returning by the defiles he had paſſed, which were every where rendered difficult to paſs, by felling of trees, and the Nayres who were in ambuſcade in various parts.

Ayder no ſooner heard of the revolt than he recalled a party of his cavalry that had been luckily cantoned near Coilmoutour. While he was thus collecting the ſtrongeſt part of his army from Mayſſour, and other parts of his dominions, he commanded a ſelect party of his infantry to be in readineſs to march on the ſhorteſt notice: however, in expectation that Raza Saeb might diſperſe the mutineers, he waited for news, before he

expoſed

expoſed to ſo inſalubrious a ſeaſon troops deſigned for very different operations.

Raza Saeb having contrived to ſend advice of his ſituation, Ayder immediately marched with three thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand Seapoys or Topaſſes. He ordered his cavalry, both officers and men to ride without ſaddles; and commanded his infantry to quit their habits, and march naked, excepting a pair of light drawers and ſhoes. Each ſoldier was provided with a waxed cloth to wrap up his knapſack; and the three hundred Europeans lately arrived from Pondicherry and Colombo, were offered paraſols, as they did not chuſe to quit their habits. Their refuſal was the cauſe that they were almoſt the only perſons in the army that were attacked by the dyſentery.

All the artillery of this ſmall army conſiſted in twelve light pieces of cannon, that were carried by elephants.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to form an idea of the ſpecies of war to which Ayder led his troops this campaign. Imagine an army of fifteen thouſand men marching from the break of day through a mountainous country, in roads or paſſages ſcarcely admitting more than three men a-breaſt, expoſed from morning till night to a conſtant ſhower, equal to thoſe that fall in the greateſt ſtorms, attended with frequent thunder and lightening, excepting for three hours afternoon, in which the ſun ſhone out with almoſt inſupportable luſtre and heat; frequently obliged to croſs rivers up to the chin in water, and ſometimes ſwimming; and paſſing the night in towns or villages deſerted by their inhabitants, where, however, they found plenty of the neceſſaries of life. Their path was every

every where marked by ruin and deſtruction, for their orders were to burn and pillage, and they exerted themſelves ſo much in this horrible work, that they left behind them nothing but heaps of ruins, where houſes had formerly ſtood.

This unexpected march obliged the Nayres to collect all their troops, and gave ſome relief to the troops of Raza Saeb, though not ſufficient to prevent his loſing many of his men for want of neceſſaries, and in conſequence of the hardſhips they were ſubjected to. The Nayre princes, though half defeated by the fear of the conſequences of their revolt, nevertheleſs expected Ayder with confidence in a retrenched camp near Pondiaghari, which on its left wing had a village fortified with a ditch and parapet planted with palliſades, well furniſhed with artillery, and maintained by the moſt reſolute, who had determined rather to periſh than yield. Ayder *, for the attack of this retrenched camp, diſpoſed of his army, ſo that four thouſand of his beſt Seapoys, forming the right wing, were charged to attack the village; this corps was commanded by a Portugueſe lieutenant colonel ‡, lately arrived from Goa, with different officers of his nation. The

* Ayder, before he made the attack, was perſuaded by his chief almoner, named Caka Saeb, to ſuffer him to go near the Nayres, and perſuade them to ſurrender. This Perjada, (for ſo the doctors of their law are called) was ſitting in a meadow with his brother, in conference with the deputies, when the enemy fired on him, and broke his brother's arm. Some horſemen, whom his brother (then Captain of artillery) had brought with him rode up, and helped them to eſcape.

‡ Ayder being informed by Naza Saeb, who had reſided at Colombo for two years after the capture of Pondicherry, that all the European powers had introduced the Pruſſian exerciſe among their troops, wrote to Goa, Bombay, Pondicherry, Madraſs, Colombo, &c. to ſend him officers to diſcipline his troops. The Portugueſe lieutenant

The left wing, compoſed of Topaſſes, was commanded by an Engliſh officer; and Ayder himſelf commanded the main body, having behind him a reſerve of Europeans almoſt all French, with whom were joined thoſe who are called the *Bara Ademis*, or *Great Men*, a corps compoſed of all the young nobility and courtiers, without excepting even the generals, who have not appointed poſts or command on the day of battle. They were all on foot, and armed with ſabres and bucklers, having voluntarily put themſelves under the command of the officer of Europeans, whom they promiſed to follow wherever he might lead them.

The cavalry, that could not be of ſervice till after the entrenchment was forced, was formed behind the corps-de-reſerve. According to the orders, the Portugueſe officer attacked the retrenched village with his four thouſand Seapoys, by conducting them bravely to the edge of the ditch; but, without advancing a ſtep farther, he contented himſelf with cauſing his troops to fire, as if at their exerciſe. Theſe unfortunate Seapoys, totally expoſed, were deſtroyed with impunity by their enemies, who fired from pentholes, or from behind the hedges. This firing, which laſted upwards of two hours, highly enraged Ayder, who receiving every moment news of the ſtate of the attack, learned with the utmoſt mortification the unavailing loſs of his beſt troops. The French officer, commandant of the Europeans, who lately arrived, and had not yet had an

lieutenant colonel had arrived from Goa on this occaſion. His improper manœuvre during the battle, and an unfortunate affair that happened to him the following night, cauſed Ayder to ſpeak harſhly to him; at which, being affronted, he demanded his diſmiſſion, and immediately obtained it.

an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, offered to advance with the corps-de-reſerve, and put himſelf at the head of the Seapoys. Ayder anſwered, that he might do as he thought proper; and he immediately joined his troop, which was impatient for the combat, and burned with a deſire to revenge the French who were inhumanly maſſacred at Pondiaghari. Headed by this active and courageous officer, and joined by the Bara Ademis, they ran with violent eagerneſs to the attack. The intervals between the battalions of Seapoys afforded them a paſſage: they jumped into the ditch, and haſtily aſcending the retrenchments tore up the palliſades, and were in the face of the enemy in an inſtant. They gave no quarter; and the enemy, aſtoniſhed to the laſt degree at their impetuoſity and rage, ſuffered themſelves to be butchered even without reſiſtance. The flames of the village on fire, and the direction of the cannon now pointed on the diſtracted Nayres, evinced to Ayder that the village was carried. The whole army, in conſequence, moved to attack the retrenchment; but the enemy, perceiving that Ayder's troops had ſtormed their outpoſt, and catching the affright of the fugitives, fled from their camp with diſorder and precipitation.

Ayder had ſuppoſed his enemies would have exhibited more firmneſs on this occaſion. This brave and fortunate attack, which was much exalted by the young nobility that ſhared the glory, gave him infinite pleaſure. He created the French commandant Bahader upon the ſpot; and in the evening preſented him with a patent, appointing him general of ten thouſand horſe, which is the higheſt military poſt among the Mogols;

at

at ſame time declaring him general in chief of his artillery. He likewiſe gave a gratification of thirty rupees to every ſoldier, and twice that ſum to each of the wounded; of which there was a great number, though no more than one died.—As the Nayres had no bayonets, the wounds were only cuts with the ſabre, little dangerous where ready aſſiſtance is to be had. The Europeans inſpired the Malabars with a new terror by this exploit; and Ayder, to increaſe it, ſpread a report that he expected many thouſand men from Europe: he added, that they were a cruel people, and devourers of human fleſh; and that his intention was, to deliver all the coaſt to their outrages. The rage and fury by which this ſmall handful of French were urged on to revenge their murdered countrymen, gave much force to the belief the wretched inhabitants were diſpoſed to afford to his reports. Wherever he turned, he found no opponent, nor even any human creature; every inhabited place was forſaken; and the poor inhabitants, who fled to the woods and mountains in the moſt inclement ſeaſon, had the anguiſh to behold their houſes in flames, their fruit trees cut down, their cattle deſtroyed, and their temples burned *. The perfidy of the Nayres had been too great for them to truſt the offers of

* The Sieur Pocot de la Mothe, French commandant at Mahé, had written to the commandant of Europeans in the army of Ayder, to take the trouble, on this occaſion, to ſearch for the Vedam, and Ozam Vedam, tranſcribed (if the fact be credible) before the time of Alexander; M. le Duc d'Ayen, now Marſhal Duc de Noailles, having given him a commiſſion to procure them at any price. The officer, deſirous of complying with the wiſh of this nobleman, cauſed different Bramins to look over the vaſt quantities of books, compoſed of plates of copper, held together by dozens by rings, which were deſtined by the captor to be caſt into cannon.

The

of pardon made by Ayder, by means of Bramins he diſpatched into the woods and mountains to recal theſe unhappy people; who were hanged without mercy, and their wives and children reduced to ſlavery, whenever they were found in the woods by the troops of Ayder; ſeverity and mildneſs being both equally ineffectual in making them return to their homes. Ali Raja, and the Mapelets, who ſaw themſelves thus involved in the ruin of the Nayres, perſuaded Ayder to return to Coilmoutour, in hopes that his abſence might remove the timidity of the people: and it is highly probable that the dyſentery that raged in his army was a much more effectual reaſon that induced him to leave the country. The officers and Europeans, who had retained their cloathing, and had more particularly abuſed the liberty of doing as they pleaſed, were the moſt expoſed to this dangerous malady.

Before he quitted the country, Ayder, by a ſolemn edict, declared the Nayres deprived of all their privileges; and ordained that their caſt, which was the firſt after the Bramins, , ſhould thereafter be the loweſt of all the caſts; ſubjecting them to ſalute the Parias and others of the loweſt

The Bramins charged with this examination, who were no other than the writers or ſecretaries in the army, informed him that all theſe books contained nothing more than accounts of the expences of the pagodas, with the names of the Bramins and their children. Some of theſe books that were preſerved, and afterwards put into the hands of more learned Bramins, were found to contain an enumeration of names of Bramins. What makes it reaſonable to ſuppoſe theſe books were of little value, is their being written in *Tambou*, the modern language of the Malabars; and the ancient language is the *Ouria* tongue, preſerved by the prieſts of the Chriſtians of St. Thomas, whoſe religious rites are performed in that language.——There is a printing office at Rome for books in this tongue, where the Propaganda, cauſe miſſals and breviaries to be printed for their prieſts.

loweſt caſts, by ranging themſelves before them, as the other Malabars had been obliged to do before the Nayres, permitting all the other caſts to bear arms, and forbidding them to the Nayres, who till then had enjoyed the ſole right of carrying them; at the ſame time allowing and commanding all perſons to kill ſuch Nayres as were found bearing arms. By this rigorous edict Ayder expected to make all the other caſts enemies of the Nayres; and that they would rejoice in the the occaſion of revenging themſelves for the tyrannic oppreſſion this nobility had till then exerted over them.

This ordinance being found to make the ſubmiſſion of the Nayres abſolutely impoſſible, becauſe they would have thought death preferable to ſuch a degradation, he made a new edict, by which he re-eſtabliſhed in all their rights and privileges ſuch Nayres as ſhould embrace the Mahometan religion. Many of theſe nobles took the turban on this occaſion; but the greater part remained diſperſed, and choſe rather to take refuge in the kingdom of Travancour than ſubmit to this laſt ordinance. Though the approach of the fine ſeaſon, and the terror he had ſpread, might have left little apprehenſion of another revolt, yet he left ſeveral bodies of troops in the country, diſtributed in poſts ſo ſituated as to aſſiſt each other in caſe of neceſſity, and quartered the reſt of his infantry in the neighbourhood of Madigheri, taking only his cavalry with him to Coilmoutour, which he was obliged to ſpread over the country, on account of the ſcarcity of forage.

On his arrival at Coilmoutour, Ayder found there a body of four thouſand Maratta cavalry lately arrived. More than a year had elapſed ſince

ſince he had ordered this corps to be raiſed, and ſince the chiefs had received the neceſſary ſums of a Bramin, named Chamrao, formerly attached to Monſ. Buſſi, but ſince entered into the ſervice of Ayder, whoſe confidence he had acquired. This Bramin had not been ſufficiently ſparing of the money; and when the Marattas had received it, they were in no haſte to complete their engagements. Inſtead of three months they were ſcarcely ready to march in eight. Their horſes, inſtead of being of the height and quality agreed on, were moſtly ſmall, ſuch as are uſed by ſervants, and called Tatoos in India. In ſhort, inſtead of a regular body of cavalry, it was nothing more than a collection of peaſants and vagabonds, incapable of forming a line, or indeed of doing any thing, but rob and pillage. Secure in poſſeſſion of the Bramin's money, they paid little regard to his complaints; and, in order to avoid loſing the whole, he was obliged to take the troops, ſuch as they were. When they were on their journey, they advanced very ſlowly, and made continual ſtops; ſo that inſtead of one month, they employed four in making their journey; and even that degree of expedition was not obtained, but in conſequence of repeated ſums advanced by the diſtreſſed Chamrao.

The Marattas would not have acted in this manner, if they had been acquainted with the character of Ayder: who, for the ſake of œconomy, was in the habit of requiring an exact account of the ſums expended for the maintenance of his troops, and was not eaſily deceived. In fact, having paſſed them in review the day after his arrival, he found them in ſo bad a ſtate that he could not avoid expreſſing his ſurprize to the Bramin.

Bramin. Chamrao had long ſince written to Ayder, complaining of the mutiny and diſobedience, not only of the private men, but of their officers. Ayder complained to the chiefs, that his orders were ſo ill executed: he ſignified to them, that, on account of their diſorderly appearance and bad equipment, he would receive the troops, as his cuſtom was with all his cavalry, and reform all thoſe that were not agreeable to the agreements made with Chamrao, his agent: that he likewiſe expected they would account for all the money employed in raiſing the troop; and beſides, to ſhew them his diſpleaſure, to find, that, regardleſs of every thing that could be urged by the perſon intruſted with his orders, they had employed in their journey four times the ſpace neceſſary to perform it in, he had given orders to his treaſurer to deduct from their account the time they had voluntary loſt by paſſing through unuſual roads.

Theſe Marattas, who, according to their own account, had large ſums to receive, murmured loudly at finding themſelves obliged to renounce a conſiderable part of their claim. Not at all habituated, in their own country, to be commanded deſpotically, they reſolved with one accord to return to their camp; with menaces to do themſelves juſtice, if refuſed it by fair means.

They who knew Ayder, and how circumſpect he is, could not conceive how he could ſo indiſcreetly put himſelf in the power of theſe Marattas; having kept with him at Coilmoutour no more than five hundred Seapoys, and thirty Europeans, who were their commandant's guard.

Fortunately, the Maratta troops were not ignorant that Ayder was able, in a very ſhort time,

to

to collect military of every denomination: in the mean time they demanded payment within the hour, or in default they threatned to mount their horſes, and return into their own country, deſtroying and pillaging all that might offer in their way.

Ayder reproached himſelf ſecretly for the vivacity that had led him to uſe menaces with thoſe people, at an inſtant in which he was not prepared to give law to them. Though he had little to fear perſonally, it would have been more prudent in him to have retired at this juncture into the fortreſs of Coilmoutour; but that courage, which never abandoned him, led him to ſurmount the difficulty and danger that now preſented itſelf.

In this embarraſſment Maffous Khan, ancient Nabob of Arcot, and brother of Mehemet Ali, adviſed him to ſend for the French commandant, and give him the charge of reducing this mutinous cavalry to reaſon. Ayder approved of the thought, and ſent for the officer: he explained the affair to him, and informed him that, by the advice of the Nabob of Arcot, he requeſted he would undertake to bring thoſe vagabonds to hear reaſon; whom he could eaſily reduce by force of arms, but that he wiſhed to uſe milder methods. The French officer conſented to ſhew himſelf worthy of the confidence Ayder honoured him with, though he ſaw all the difficulty attending the execution of the buſineſs: however, he undertook it with ardour, being deſirous of continually rendering himſelf more uſeful and neceſſary.

To begin his negociation, he ſent word to the Maratta chief, that he was deſirous of paying him

him a viſit, in order to cultivate an acquaintance with him and the other great men of his nation: at the ſame inſtant he ſent an expreſs to Madigheri, with orders for all the Europeans to march to Coilmoutour; and, together with his letter, he diſpatched an order from Ayder to the commander in chief of the cantonment, to ſend off all the Topaſſes, which amounted to a body of above four thouſand men.

The Maratta chief having accepted with joy the viſit the French officer propoſed, received him with the greateſt politeneſs, as did the other chiefs who were aſſembled on the occaſion. In order to obtain their confidence, the commandant, after making the uſual compliments (that is to ſay, ſpoken highly of the valour and merit of the Maratta nation) proceeded to inform them, that he wiſhed to viſit them, becauſe the French and himſelf were nearly in the ſame ſituation as the Maratta cavalry; and it might be found advantageous to unite their pretenſions, and make a common cauſe. The fact in reality was, that the French troops arrived in Ayder's dominions at the very juncture in which the revolt of the Nayres demanded his attention, and had remained a conſiderable time at Syringpatnam. It is true, that he had received conſiderable ſums by order of Ayder; but, though he had already been engaged in actual ſervice, no agreement had yet been made for the emoluments and pay of himſelf and his troops.

This overture having inſured the confidence of the Marattas, they began to exclaim againſt Ayder, and accuſed him of a breach of faith, by ſpeaking almoſt all at once; their chief at laſt found an opportunity of ſpeaking alone: he ſpoke highly

highly of the conduct and behaviour of his troops, and placed their pretenſions in the moſt favourable point of view; and the French officer, ſeeming to give credit to their words, was careful not to ſhew any intimation that he was charged with any commiſſion from Ayder: he gave them reaſon to ſuppoſe the contrary; and even acquainted them (as in confidence) that he expected his troops the next day, who, impatient to know their fate, would come expreſsly to decide it: that therefore he judged it expedient for them to wait till the Europeans were arrived; and in the mean time, he would go to Ayder, as if from himſelf, and offer his mediation: the Marattas unanimouſly approved this project, and accepted his offer with gladneſs. Things thus adjuſted for the preſent, there was no queſtion concerning the expediting of buſineſs: the Marattas promiſed the French officer, that they would return his viſit the following day at the ſame hour, to learn the effect of his intended conference with Ayder; and they parted good friends. All the country reſounded with the valour of the French; and the Marattas, who had the higheſt opinion of them, on account of the defeat of Nazerzing, and the exploits of M. Buſſi *, were highly flattered with this kind of alliance with them.

The following day the few Europeans that were at Madigheri, to the number of four hundred men, began

* This ought not to be taken for flattery. The Author has long ago aſſured the people in power, that M. Buſſi enjoys the higheſt reputation in Indoſtan; and it is certain, that a Frenchman among the Marattas, or in the army of the Suba of Decan, will be every moment aſked *Mouſſa Buſſi qu'en é?* or, what is become of M. Buſſi?

began to appear, but irregularly, in ſmall numbers, conſiſting of three or four at moſt in a party. By this artifice, they appeared to be coming in all day, without its being poſſible for the Marattas to judge of their number; and thoſe who arrived did not fail to acquaint the enquirers, that the main body would ſoon arrive: accordingly, at the cloſe of the night, a column of infantry paſſed by the Maratta camp, with drums beating and colours flying, compoſed of Topaſſes *, who had been ſent from Madigheri, and were headed by the Europeans who, by another route, had went out of Coilmoutour to join them.

This artifice cauſed the Marattas to believe the Europeans were much more numerous than they really were; and their notion was ſtrengthened by the hats of the Topaſſes, and their drums and fifes, which reſemble the others; and as they played the ſame marches, and it was almoſt dark when they appeared, it was not eaſy to perceive the difference.

The principal Maratta chiefs waited on the French commandant; who receiving them with the

* The Topaſſes are black Chriſtians, who call themſelves Portugueſe, and have the names of the firſt families in Portugal; but who, to all appearance, are deſcended from ſlaves, born and brought up in the houſes of the Portugueſe, who treat very favourably, and with great humanity, thoſe ſlaves whom they call Creanza de Caza, or Children of the Houſe. The Europeans have never been able to form good troops out of thoſe people; which ariſes, no doubt, from the contemptuous manner they treat them with: inſtead of which, Ayder has always put them on an equality with the Seapoys, and even preferred them to his other troops; as will be ſeen in the courſe of this Hiſtory. The officers of theſe Topaſſes are Europeans; which circumſtance, however, does not prevent thoſe among them who diſtinguiſh themſelves, from being promoted: in conſequence of this treatment, they may be regarded as Ayder's beſt troops, and thoſe he can moſt rely on.

the moſt attentive politeneſs and regard, acquainted them, that he had found Ayder diſpoſed to act in the moſt amicable manner with them, and had accepted his mediation; but that he had promiſed to keep ſtrictly to the agreement made with his agent, Chamrao: that he conſented, either that himſelf alone, or with ſuch other perſons of conſequence as the Marattas might chuſe, would paſs in review, one by one, the horſemen and their horſes, for the purpoſe of reforming thoſe that were not according to the agreement: and likewiſe, that after having taken an account of the length of the journey they had had to perform, arbitrators ſhould decide the time they ought to have employed. The French commandant added, that theſe propoſitions having appeared to him equitable, he had judged it proper to ſubmit, and accept them; being well convinced of the candid and noble manner of thinking that diſtinguiſhed the Maratta nation.

They, who did not find their account in this method of adjuſting the affair, exclaimed much againſt the facility of the officer, and aſſured him that they would not conſent to be thus paſſed in review; and more particularly becauſe Chamrao, the envoy of Ayder, had ſeen and approved the horſes, which had not ſince been changed; and that with reſpect to his demand concerning the time employed in the journey, it was at the very requeſt of Chamrao, they affirmed, that they had ſojourned on the road, in order that they might not arrive at Coilmoutour during the abſence of the Nabob, being informed that forages were very rare. Theſe Maratta officers having perſiſted in their determination, maintained firmly that the propoſitions made to them were unreaſonable; and that they could not accept them,

nor abate their pretenſions, without the conſent of all the chiefs, of whom they would convene an aſſembly. The night approaching, they returned very diſſatisfied with their viſit, and the reſolution of Ayder.

The French officer, not to render himſelf ſuſpected by paying too great attention to the ſituation of their encampment, thought proper to commit that charge to one of his adjutants *. This officer reported that the camp was in a meadow ſituated between two banks, one ſerving to retain the water of a great tank, and the other as a paſſage at the time of rain; that the meadow was bounded at one end by a hill impracticable to cavalry, becauſe covered with fruit-trees, and interſected by hedges and walls of earth, that divide the property of different perſons; that at the extremity of the bank, that ſerved for a road, there were ſome houſes, and a ſmall pagoda; and, laſtly, that he was of opinion, that two hundred men, and ſome pieces of cannon, placed in this hamlet, would be able to prevent the Marattas from going out of their camp. In conſequence of this advice, cannon were conveyed in the night to this poſt, and 250 men, who entrenched themſelves. A barbette battery of ten pieces of cannon was conſtructed, which was by no means an agreeable ſight to the Marattas when day-light appeared. Their chiefs having ſent to the officer who commanded the poſt, to demand with what intention thoſe cannon were pointed at their camp, received anſwer, that they had

* This adjutant was M. de Lallie, who now commands a corps in Ayder's army of two hundred and fifty European horſemen: of which he is proprietor, as well as of a regiment of Seapoys.

had been placed there by his commandant, with orders to fire on the firſt Maratta that ſhould attempt to get on horſeback; and that if they deſired farther information, they muſt apply to the commandant. On this they diſpatched two of their officers, who complained of this act of hoſtility, but with much politeneſs, and an air that ſufficiently exhibited their fear. The commandant did not heſitate to anſwer, that having been ſo little ſatisfied the preceding evening with their reception of the propoſitions of Ayder, which to him appeared juſt and reaſonable; and fearing that, by a precipitate reſolution of returning into their own country, they might betray his faith and honour, pledged to the ſovereign on their account, he thought it incumbent on him to take theſe precautions. But, nevertheleſs, he wiſhed to continue his mediation, and would certainly join them, if Ayder refuſed to do them juſtice. This diſcourſe having encouraged them, they proteſted they were ready to treat; and that, truſting entirely to his promiſes, all the chiefs would wait on him at an hour to be appointed, for a conference with Ayder's miniſters.

On the aſſurance given them that no act of hoſtility ſhould be committed, provided they remained quiet in their camp, they returned to their quarters. The commandant repaired to Ayder to inform him of their good diſpoſitions: he found him alone with Maffous Khan, who likewiſe offered himſelf as mediator and interpreter, for which he was qualified by ſpeaking very good Portugueſe.

In conſideration of the advanced age and high rank of this perſonage, the French officer begged he would conſent that the meeting might be held

at his houſe. Advice was given to the Marattas, who repaired thither at the cloſe of the evening. Two Bramins, ſecretaries to Ayder, likewiſe attended, and every thing was arranged in two days; Maſſous Khan having removed all the difficulties with a degree of addreſs and intelligence very uncommon, but acquired by fifty years experience in this ſort of negociations. It was agreed, that none ſhould be diſmiſſed but ſuch horſes as were abſolutely incapable of any kind of ſervice; that they ſhould all paſs in exact review; that ſuch as ſhould be judged in a ſtate to ſerve as good cavalry, ſhould be paid at the rate of forty rupees a month, man and horſe, according to the agreement made with Chamrao; and that the others ſhould be reduced to five-and-twenty, and ſhould ſerve as irregular cavalry. The time allowed for the journey was ſet at three months.

After this review it was found that one hundred and fifty horſe only were entitled to forty rupees, and the reſt were reduced to five-and-twenty. The principal chief, whoſe troop was well mounted, and who alone poſſeſſed eight hundred horſe, had none diſmiſſed; perhaps there was indulgence ſhewn him, on account of the pains he had taken to accommodate the difference.

The affair being thus ſatisfactorily adjuſted, Ayder made a preſent of twenty-two horſes to the French officer, to mount twenty Europeans, to ſerve him as a guard, and accompany him every where: at the ſame time he gave orders to the Bacſi * and the ſecretary at war, to ſettle the

* The Bacſi is properly the miniſter at war, and the ſecretary is ſubjected to his orders, though generally he is the confidential miniſter of the Nabob.

the pay and emoluments of all the Europeans; Ayder being in the cuſtom never to ſettle his pecuniary affairs himſelf, but committing the charge of them to miniſters, who have no permiſſion to conclude any buſineſs without the preciſe orders of their maſter. To make their court, the Bacſi and his colleague exclaimed againſt the exorbitant pretenſions of the Europeans, and propoſed abatements that were flatly rejected: but as the corps of Europeans was not numerous, the ſubject of theſe diſcuſſions was of ſmall conſequence to Ayder: to end them therefore, and to make a parade of generoſity that he thought ſuitable to his rank, he ordered the commandant and principal officers before him, and, addreſſing himſelf to the former, "I hear, with concern," ſaid he, "that you do not agree with the Bacſi and Narimrao. Why did not you apply to me? have you forgot that I have, both by writing and converſation, informed you, that you may diſpoſe of every thing I poſſeſs; and that the French are eſteemed by me as brothers?" Upon which he gave orders to Narimrao to prepare the Batis *, and he ſigned them before he diſmiſſed the officers; at the ſame time inviting them to an

 entertainment

* The Batis are ſmall writings or warrants. Every perſon in the military ſervice has one, from the general to the drummer. This writing contains the name of the perſon, and of his father and grandfather; a deſcription of his perſon, and that of his horſe (if he be a horſeman); the day he entered the ſervice; his ſtation, and his pay; and as often as he is paid the ſum is entered on the ſame; thoſe of the officers contain ſimply the name, the ſtation or degree, and the ſums received. The Batis are triple, and in three different languages, Perſian, Maratta, and Canarin; and as there are three chancellors, they are preſerved in the greateſt order. Ayder ſigns the ſtate of accounts every month, as well as a particular ſtate for every troop; for no payment is made without the ſignature of Ayder, or, in his abſence, of the general commandant.

entertainment to be given at the palace the next day.

As it could not be expected that the coaſt of Malabar would ever enjoy a ſtate of tranquillity while the Nayre princes were on the frontiers, and in the country of Travancour, Ayder reſolved to make the conqueſt of that kingdom; for which, however, he could urge no better reaſon than that the king of that country had aſſiſted his enemies. Though this kingdom is of ſmall extent, it is very populous; and its king, Ram Raja, has acquired a reputation for his valour and prudence, which gave reaſon to conclude that the undertaking would be attended with much difficulty.

Ayder knew that his enemy had long exerted himſelf in diſciplining his army; that he had a numerous corps of Seapoys well armed, and a train of artillery ſerved by good cannoneers, procured from the Danes, the Engliſh, and the Dutch. He likewiſe knew that the country was not to be penetrated but by way of narrow paſſages through mountains, where Ram Raja had cauſed fortreſſes to be conſtructed, which he was firmly reſolved to defend to the utmoſt. Neither was he ignorant, that the Engliſh, jealous of his power, had aſſembled troops in Madura and Marava, countries dependant on Mehemet Ali Khan, and frontier to Travancour: but, habituated to overcome all obſtacles, he was determined to purſue his intention. He truſted to the promiſes made by the Engliſh deputies, who had waited upon him on the coaſt of Malabar; to whom he had granted not only a confirmation of all their former privileges, but had, beſides, given permiſſion to eſtabliſh a factory at Onor; and he

he was likewiſe perſuaded, that the Engliſh troops were aſſembled for no other purpoſe than to protect the dominions of Mehemet Ali from inſult.

Maffous Khan had lately been induced to take the part of Nizam Ali Khan, who had ſent him preſents of great value. He knew that the Suba of Decan was engaged in wars with his vaſſals, in which he was aſſiſted by a party of Engliſh, commanded by General Smith. He therefore concluded that he had nothing to fear on his part.

In order to ſecure himſelf from any interruption in the war he had projected, Ayder wrote to Mirza Ali Khan, governor of Scirra, and his brother-in-law, to renew the truce with the Marattas, which was on the point of expiring: a buſineſs not difficult to be performed, by means of a ſum of money properly diſtributed among the chiefs.

The intended war, and the neceſſity of placing ſtrong garriſons in the conquered country, obliged Ayder to make conſiderable levies for the augmentation of his army; and, being willing to derive every advantage from the time preceding that in which he intended to march againſt Ram Raja, he cauſed all his troops and his artillery to be exerciſed by the European officers, he himſelf aſſiſting every day with his ſons and generals at the different exerciſes and evolutions.

After conſulting the commandant of Europeans, whoſe knowledge and intelligence he greatly valued and depended on, he eſtabliſhed, by his advice, a corps of five thouſand grenadiers, divided into battalions of five hundred men, compoſed of four companies of one hundred and twenty-five men each. Two of theſe battalions

were ſelected out of the Topaſſes, and the reſt from the Seapoys; each being commanded by an European officer. There was, beſides, in each company, an European adjutant or ſerjeant-major. The officers and private men of every company were choſen by Ayder himſelf, who regarded tallneſs leſs than a martial air, and the activity and robuſt temperament of the individual.

Theſe grenadiers received ten rupees a month, inſtead of eight, which is the pay of the other Seapoys. They were exempt from all works of labour, and even mounted no guard, except that of their commandant; and, that nothing might prevent their being ready to march at the firſt ſignal, every eſcouade, compoſed of ſeven men, including an inferior officer, were allowed a cook ſervant, and an ox to carry their tent and baggage. Every company was augmented by an eſcouade of ſeven men, deſtined ſolely to guard the baggage. Theſe were as it were apprentices, being youths of about ſixteen or ſeventeen years old, intended to replace the grenadiers who fell, and to render the corps capable of affording great advantages by the rapidity of their motions. From the time of their firſt eſtabliſhment, they were exerciſed every morning in handling their arms, by their own officers; and every afternoon, from three till ſix, five battalions, by turns, were exerciſed in their evolutions by the French commandant; after which they were made to march from ſix to eight, marching out at the ordinary pace, and returning home with a quick ſtep.

All the officers, without exception, were obliged to do this exerciſe as well as the common ſoldiers.

diers. This conſtraint at firſt occaſioned much murmuring among them, but luckily it did not come to the hearing of Ayder. However, whether through a ſenſe of duty, or from example, they became accuſtomed to it, and their aſſiduity afforded great encouragement to the ſoldiers. It was thus that this ſovereign formed a body of troops, to whoſe rapid movements the Engliſh afterwards attributed all his ſucceſs.

The Engliſh had no ſooner heard of Ayder's preparations, which fame had rendered ſtill more conſiderable, than they conceived umbrage at them, as well as at the long ſtay he made at Coilmoutour, the capital of a ſmall diſtrict or country adjoining to Madura, of which we have already made mention. In their uncertainty reſpecting his intentions, they reſolved to diſpatch his Ouaquil from Madras, a Bramin, named Menagi Bandec, to carry him a letter from the governor and council of that ſettlement. This letter announced a ſolemn embaſſy, compoſed of Colonel Call, chief engineer, and Counſellor Boſchier, brother to the governor. Ayder being perſuaded that they intended to make propoſitions to him, relative to Travancour and the coaſt of Malabar, contrary to his views and intentions, thought it neceſſary to elude the receiving the embaſſy. He immediately diſpatched an anſwer to the letter of the council, aſſuring them that he was very much flattered with their letter, and thanking them for the honour they intended him in ſending ſo diſtinguiſhed an embaſſy; but at the ſame time he added, that Coilmoutour, being only a camp or military ſtation, by no means proper for the reception of ambaſſadors with thoſe honours they were entitled to expect, he could

not decently receive the embaſſy till he ſhould arrive at Syringpatnam, a royal city, to which he propoſed to return in a ſhort time; and that he would be careful to adviſe the governor of Madras of his arrival there.

Ayder was too well acquainted with the Engliſh politics to ſuffer himſelf to be ſeduced by the pompous honour with which they hoped to dazzle his ſight; and, far from being flattered with this embaſſy, he was determined no longer to defer his expedition againſt Travancour. The order was already given for the army to be in readineſs to march, when an unforeſeen event convinced him that he had more enemies than he ſuſpected, who were anxiouſly intent upon his deſtruction.

There was an Iriſh officer in his army, named Turner, who had been admitted into his ſervice by virtue of a letter of recommendation from Governor Boſchier. He was a man of a ſtrong underſtanding; and who, poſſeſſing all the talents required in a good ſoldier, eſpecially in the art of tactics, had in a very ſhort time gained the affection of Ayder, who committed the moſt important operations to his care. This man, who was not in the ſlighteſt degree ſuſpected, was commander of the firſt battalion of Topaſs grenadiers; and, in this quality, he was regarded as general of the military, which forms a body of about five thouſand men.

It muſt be allowed that an officer recommended by an Engliſh governor ought to have been treated with leſs confidence and ſecurity; but this man had behaved ſo well in the war on the coaſt of Malabar, that, far from having any miſtruſt of him, he had acquired the confidence of his generals.

rals. Taking advantage of the good opinion they had of him, he waited till the time of payment, which is made the fifth day of every lunar month after the moon has appeared; and when he had received his appointments, and the pay of his men, he made his eſcape by the road that leads towards Cochin.

His quarters were a ſhort league diſtant from Coilmoutour. The officers of his corps waited on him to receive their pay; but, under the captious pretence of his ſecretary being abſent, he begged them to wait till the next day, which was without difficulty granted. To put his project in execution he mounted his horſe, being accompanied by a young Swediſh officer, to whom he had communicated his deſign, and diſappeared, carrying every thing of value he poſſeſſed with him; taking the precaution firſt to acquaint his domeſtics that he was going to ſupper with the commandant-general at Coilmoutour.

The intenſity of the heat in the day, and the beauty of the nights, in India, induce people of diſtinction to ſit up very late, more eſpecially as they have the cuſtom of ſleeping in the day from three till ſix. Some officers, who were in this habitude, called upon him, and were aſtoniſhed to find he was gone to ſupper at Coilmoutour; but far from harbouring any ſuſpicion, they concluded, on the contrary, that it was a gaming party, knowing him to be a great gameſter. The night being fine, they reſolved to take the advantage of it; and, thinking to ſurpriſe him agreeably, they mounted their horſes, and repaired to the commandant's quarters at Coilmoutour, where they arrived about midnight. Their aſtoniſhment was highly increaſed, when they found every body

body in the moſt profound ſleep. They enquired to no purpoſe for Turner, as no one could give any account of him; and the ſuſpicion that conſequently aroſe in their minds induced them to apply to the commandant himſelf. On their account of the abſence of their officer, the commandant ſent to enquire of the poſts that guarded the entrance of the paſſes, whether any one had paſſed them; and was informed, that two European officers had departed three hours before. The firſt captain of Turner's corps, named Minerva, an Iriſhman, offered to purſue him inſtantly with a party of fifty Europeans: his offer was accepted, and he departed at two in the morning. At eight they had ſtretched over upwards of ſix leagues, and arrived at the frontier of the country of Cochin. They diſcovered the horſes of the officers they were in queſt of, and environed the houſe, in which they found them both aſleep. They immediately ſecured their perſons, and conducted them bound to Coilmoutour.

Ayder being informed of the eſcape of Turner and the Swediſh officer, and of their recapture, gave orders to judge them as in a ſimilar caſe in Europe. In conſequence, a court martial was aſſembled, at which the two criminals were tried, and convicted of carrying off the public money: ſentence was accordingly pronounced, that they ſhould be degraded and hung, and their bodies afterwards expoſed on the high road. The council, in compaſſion to the youth of the Swediſh officer (who, according to all appearance, had been ſeduced by the other, and ſtill more, becauſe he carried away no property of any other, and was only culpable in having departed without leave) thought proper to intercede with the Nabob

in

in his favour; who commuted the puniſhment of death into that of impriſonment. As to Turner, he was conducted to the place of puniſhment, and there diſcovered to the council, that the Engliſh, conjointly with Nizam Ali Khan, intended to attack Ayder. He confeſſed that he was a ſpy employed by the government of Madras, and begged pardon of the ſovereign for having ſo long abuſed his confidence; that he ſhould not have made his eſcape, if he had not lately been nominated major of a regiment on the Bombay eſtabliſhment: he intreated his judges, in conſideration of the importance of his diſcoveries, they would ſpare him the indignity of being hanged, and, as he deſerved to die, would give orders for him to be ſhot: this requeſt was allowed him. Before he ſuffered, he diſtributed all his money to the ſoldiers appointed to put him to death; to the Sieur Minerva he gave his ſword and watch. After his death he was ſuſpended on a tree near the road-ſide, conformable to the latter part of his ſentence.

The diſcovery of the intentions of the Engliſh, cauſed the departure of the army for Travancour to be ſuſpended. Ayder without delay cauſed Maffous Khan to repair to Ayder Abad, where he was charged to attempt, by the intrigues of his friends and his creatures about the Nabob, who were in great number (Bazaletzing, brother of the Subah, being the firſt) to avert the ſtorm that threatened him from that court.

In the mean time he continued to exerciſe his troops, and train them to all kinds of evolutions. This ſpectacle, entirely new to the Indians, and the long ſtay of the ſovereign of ſo many ſtates in Coilmoutour, drew ſo great a concourſe of people

people to that place, that their number amounted to more than 100,000, excluſive of the army, which exceeded 60,000: but it will ſcarcely be credited, that this country is ſo abundant with all the neceſſaries of life, that a ſheep or a dozen of fowls never coſt more than two ſhillings; and twelve meaſures of rice, one of which is ſufficient to ſerve a man a day, were ſold at the ſame price. The immenſe population of this country is proved by the two markets which are held weekly; where, at each, is commonly ſold twenty thouſand pieces of ſilk, each fourteen cubits long *. This country, through which lies the ordinary paſſage from Mayſſour and the coaſt of Coromandel, to the coaſt of Malabar, produces a conſiderable revenue to Ayder, who enjoys the tolls, to the excluſion of the Rajas of the country.

It is eſtimated, that thirty thouſand oxen, loaded with tobacco, annually paſs through Coilmoutour: this aſſertion is rendered very probable, by the numerous magazines of that commodity at Pondiagheri. Beſides tobacco, there are great quantities of ſilks of every kind, and pepper, cardamom, ivory, &c. brought from the coaſt of Malabar.

During the long ſtay of Ayder at Coilmoutour, many events happened, which, though of no great importance, are yet ſufficiently intereſting to be related. They may ſerve not only to give the reader a more perfect idea of the genius and character of Ayder, but likewiſe to throw light on the manners of the people, of whom the Nabob is become the ſovereign. The firſt of theſe events

* The ſuperior of the Jeſuit miſſionaries, who reſides at Xavier Paleam, one mile diſtant from Coilmoutour, has aſſured me, that he had ten thouſand Chriſtian weavers in his miſſion.

events is a proceſs or ſuit at law, carried on againſt the miſſionary Jeſuits of the dominions of Ayder.

The news of the expulſion of the ſelf-named Jeſuits from Portugal and France having arrived in India, a miſſionary of that order, a Portugueſe by nation, and reſiding in Mayſſour, quitted his cure in 1767, and retired to Goa; being determined, as he ſaid, to ſhew himſef a faithful ſubject of his king, by no longer continuing in a body of men declared to be enemies of his country. A year and a half after his departure, he wrote to a Portugueſe lady, named Madam Mequinez, widow of a Portugueſe officer, who had rendered ſignal ſervices to Ayder, and was afterwards ſlain in a battle againſt the Marattas: Ayder, in return, had given his widow the regiment of Topaſſes her huſband had poſſeſſed, with the appointment of colonel, till an adopted ſon of her huſband's was of age to command the regiment himſelf.

This lady accompanied her regiment every where: the colours were carried to her houſe; and ſhe had a private ſentinel at the door. She received the pay, and cauſed the deductions to be made in her preſence from each company. When the regiment was collected, ſhe inſpected them herſelf, as well as all the detachments that were ordered out; but ſhe permitted the ſecond in command to exerciſe the troops, and lead them againſt the enemy.

This dame Mequinez having received the letter of the ex-jeſuit father, addreſſed herſelf to the Bramin Narimrao, ſecretary at war, and much eſteemed by Ayder. She complained that, during the life, and ſince the death of her huſband, ſhe had

had depoſited in truſt in the hands of the now ex-jeſuit, all her jewels, and the money ſhe and her huſband could ſpare: that this father having departed to Goa, ſhe, being in the army, wrote to him, and received for anſwer, that all the jewels and money ſhe had depoſited in his hand, were transferred, under the ſame title, into thoſe of the provincial father reſident at Xavier Paleam, to whom it was neceſſary for her to addreſs herſelf for reſtitution: ſhe added, that having carried this letter to the provincial father, he affirmed, that ſhe had loſt her ſenſes; and that he had never heard either of her money or her jewels: at the ſame time ſhe placed in the hands of the ſecretary the letter received by her from Goa, together with a ſtate of the jewels and money ſhe reclaimed, amounting to a conſiderable ſum. The Bramin acquainted Ayder with the particulars of this affair, and painted the Jeſuits in the moſt odious colours, by reciting what had paſſed in France and Portugal concerning them.

On this complaint, Ayder immediately ordered a guard of four Seapoys and a corporal to every miſſionary found in his dominions, with orders not to loſe ſight of the reverend fathers; but at the ſame time to permit them to perform their functions, as well in their miſſions as in their churches, without impeding them in the leaſt; but on the contrary, they were commanded to treat them with every mark of reſpect.

Ayder commanded this reſtraint to be laid upon them, becauſe the complaint was made at the very time when the revolt of the Nayres demanded his preſence on the coaſt of Malabar. On his return to Coilmoutour, and the Bramin Narimrao having renewed the widow's complaint, he ſent for

the French commandant, of whoſe integrity and judgment he was well convinced: "You are, doubtleſs," ſaid he, "acquainted with the ſuit urged by the widow Mequinez againſt the Jeſuits; and, as I wiſh the affair to be terminated by an equitable deciſion, I have fixed upon you to take cognizance of the ſame, and ſhall give you every neceſſary power to be her judge." The officer anſwered, "That not being a man of the law, he could not pretend to undertake the diſtribution of juſtice, for fear of erring through ignorance." Ayder replied, "Certainly you, who are yourſelf a Chriſtian, muſt be better acquainted with the law * of the Chriſtians than any judge in my dominions: and ſince my intention is, that every one ſhall be judged by his own law, you cannot avoid accepting this commiſſion; but I permit you, if it be neceſſary, to ſelect, as aſſiſtants jointly with yourſelf, ſuch officers of your nation and religion, as you think capable of ſeconding your own endeavours." There was nothing could be objected to this offer. The French officer, after thanking Ayder for the honour of his good opinion, conſented to perform his orders to the utmoſt of his power: and the day following, Madam Mequinez and the reverend provincial Father, being informed of the Nabob's determination, did not fail to wait on the French officer as their judge.

The lady arrived apparently in the utmoſt diſtreſs. She lamented, with ſigns of great affliction, that poverty, to which, ſhe affirmed, the perfidy

* Ayder, and all the Mahometans, believe that Jeſus Chriſt, like Moſes and Mahomet, has given laws to the Chriſtians, which the judges are bound to follow in their deciſions; and that Chriſtian princes cannot evade them by contrary laws.

perfidy of the Jeſuits had reduced her, and againſt whom ſhe vented numberleſs invectives: her oration was ſo ſpecious that almoſt all the Europeans, eſpecially the French, who were chiefly young men, were prejudiced in her favour, and were deſirous that the Jeſuits ſhould be condemned to make reſtitution, and be burned, or at leaſt hanged.

The provincial father was an Italian of about ſixty years of age, of a commanding * and venerable aſpect, though at the ſame time affable and mild. He praiſed God for inſpiring the ſovereign with the choice of ſuch a judge as his heart had long deſired. After this ſhort prayer he entreated the French commandant (making at the ſame time the moſt humble apology to the other gentlemen preſent) that he would be pleaſed to grant him a private audience, that he might be able to explain the affair in all its particulars; but which he could not do in public, becauſe of certain perſons who were involved in the buſineſs. The French officer made a ſign for every one to retire; and the reverend provincial father, being alone with him, expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms: "You muſt be ſenſible, "Sir, that, even in the moſt regular and holy "ſocieties, it is impoſſible to prevent Judas' "from

* The Jeſuit miſſionaries in India, who reſide in the country not ſubjected to Europeans, call themſelves Bramin Chriſtians: they wear a habit reſembling that of the Bramins, having the triple cord and the ſlippers made without the ſkin of animals: they wear their beard, and live in the manner of the Bramins, never eating publicly any thing that has had life, and never going to the altar without firſt waſhing and purifying themſelves. Virgins pour veſſels of water on their heads, and afterwards, drying them, they put on the albe, the chaſuble, and other ſacerdotal habiliments. This provincial father, like the other miſſionaries of his order, reſembled a Bramin.

" from ſometimes appearing; and he who now
" has drawn this unexpected perſecution on us,
" for the ſatisfactory termination of which we
" depend on you, may juſtly be called by that
" name. Before that man determined to retire
" to Goa, there were ſeveral ſcandalous ſtories
" came to my knowledge concerning him, that
" obliged me to reprimand him; for, in this
" country, when a man is once at the head of
" a miſſion, the ſuperior has no other right than
" that of reprimanding him, for fear of a greater
" diſorder. Being informed that my remon-
" ſtrances produced no effect, I thought it my
" duty to watch over all his actions. I was ad-
" viſed when he quitted his cure, and that he
" had departed to Mangalor, in his way to Goa.
" I followed him without delay, and coming up
" with him before he embarked, I eaſily obtain-
" ed an order from the commandant of Manga-
" lor to prevent his quitting the place before I
" had publiſhed, in all the miſſions, that if any
" one had intereſts to diſcuſs with that father *,
" he ſhould repair to Mangalor: many perſons
" repaired thither, and among them the dame
" Mequinez, who reclaimed two thouſand ru-
" pees, a pair of bracelets of rubies, and a col-
" lar of pearls, which were returned to her;
" as

* All the Chriſtian women in India that are married to Europeans have the madneſs to hoard up a private ſum or fund, which they entruſt to their prieſts, under the ſeal of confeſſion. It is to the honour of the miſſionaries, that there is no inſtance of any complaint of this truſt having been abuſed. This cuſtom is very ancient, and ſeems to have originated with the Portugueſe. The monks, at all events, gain much money by the practice, becauſe there are ſcarcely any women that die, who previouſly acquaint their huſbands or relations where they have placed ſums in this manner.

" as was acknowledged by an authentic act paſſ-
" ed in the chancellory of the Portugueſe fac-
" tory at Mangalor, and witneſſed by the ſigna-
" ture of the French and Portugueſe factors. Since
" the exhibition of the widow Mequinez's com-
" plaint againſt us, I have applied to the chief
" and chancellor of the Portugueſe factory * for
" a copy of the act, which they have conſtantly
" refuſed.

" To procure this deed, which is abſolutely
" neceſſary for the right deciſion of the cauſe,
" it will be proper, Sir, for you to make uſe
" of the authority of the Nabob. The bearer
" of his order muſt be a Frenchman who can
" be depended on, and who muſt compel the
" Portugueſe factor to exhibit the regiſters of
" his chancellorſhip, in ſpite of all the reſiſtance
" he may make, on account of the honour of
" his flag and garriſon. I muſt intreat you like-
" wiſe, Sir, to conduct the buſineſs in ſuch a
" manner as that the Bramin Narimrao may not
" be apprized of the order given to force the
" chief of the Portugueſe ſettlement to commu-
" nicate

* The Portugueſe had a factory at Mangalor, on an eminence that commanded the river. In this factory they kept a ſmall garriſon of thirty Portugueſe ſoldiers, commanded by a lieutenant, who was at the ſame time factor, and a kind of conſul: this ſettlement had two pieces of cannon, and diſplayed Portugueſe colours. The kings of Canara ſubmitted to this, and the Portugueſe levied a ſmall duty, a toll on the entering or going out of the river of Mangalor, which they pretended to defend againſt invaders. When the Engliſh took Mangalor in 1768, the Portugueſe had neither the inclination nor the power to defend the entrance of the river againſt the Engliſh army. Ayder being deſirous of conſtructing a citadel at Mangalor, in 1774, M. Catini, his engineer, found that the ſcite of the Portugueſe factory was the propereſt for building a citadel capable of defending the entrance of the river; and the Portugueſe were obliged to reſign their factory.

" nicate his regiſters: for I have good reaſons to " ſuſpect that this Bramin, whoſe avarice you " are no ſtranger to, is intereſted in the plot, as " well as the Portugueſe chancellor and factor. " The Bramin would not fail, in that caſe, to " adviſe them of the intended order, and they " would diſpatch the regiſters to Goa. If you " cannot clear up the affair by means of theſe " regiſters, you may write to Mahé, to know " who was the French gentleman who then re- " ſided at Mangalor *. You may then apply " to him, and perhaps his memory will fur- " niſh you with means to do juſtice to the in- " jured."

The French officer, after having heard the recital of the provincial father, ſaid, " Be at your eaſe, my reverend father; I will do my utmoſt to ſearch your affair to the bottom, without giving any ſuſpicion of the communication you have made."

Madam Mequinez, impatient to know the reſult of the provincial father's conference with the French commandant, haſtened the next morning to wait upon him. There were then ſeveral French officers with him: he no ſooner ſaw her, than he ſaid, " Madam, the provincial father made his confeſſion to me yeſterday; you muſt now abſolutely make yours." The lady colonel, aſſured of the victory, conſented with great readineſs; and every body having retired, he addreſſed her thus, " How could you thoughtleſsly precipitate yourſelf into the abyſs you are fallen in? You enjoy a great revenue by the bounty of

* There was not then, and perhaps never was, a French factory at Mangalor. The French gentleman, of whom the reverend father ſpoke, was ſome merchant who was caſually there.

of the Nabob; and you have preſumed to impoſe on that prince, whom you know to be ſeverely juſt: you are a Chriſtian, and you have not ſcrupled to invent the moſt odious impoſture, in hopes of enriching yourſelf by the plunder of the churches and altars, and with the intention of ſharing your unjuſt demands with a Bramin and a Monk, whoſe wickedneſs you are well acquainted with. But it is in vain that you hope any longer to conceal your conſpiracy. I am informed of every thing by the French gentleman who reſided at Mangalor, and who will quickly arrive here, together with the chancellor of the Portugueſe factory, who brings his regiſters, and is guarded by Seapoys. You have but a moment in your power to ſave yourſelf, by making a ſincere declaration of the truth: for from this inſtant I will cauſe you to be arreſted and guarded, without permiſſion to ſpeak to any one; and when your impoſture ſhall be proved, you may expect that the Nabob will puniſh you as you deſerve: but if, on the contrary, you make the confeſſion I demand, I will find means of terminating the affair without noiſe." The woman, who now ſaw herſelf unmaſked, was almoſt dead at hearing a diſcourſe ſo unexpected; and finiſhed by falling on her knees. She confeſſed the truth, and threw the blame on the Monk at Goa, and the Bramin, who had prompted her with this infamous contrivance. The officer raiſed her, with the aſſurance, that by her confeſſion ſhe had placed herſelf out of all danger: he then went out, and faſtened the door behind him; but ſoon returned with two officers of known diſcretion, to whom he had communicated the particulars of what had paſſed:

and

and the dame Mequinez, ſuppoſing them to be of the number of her judges, repeated before them every thing ſhe had before avowed to the commandant.

The provincial father being ſent for, and informed of the confeſſion of the widow, proſtrated himſelf on the earth, and then raiſing himſelf, returned thanks to God, that the truth was cleared up, and his brethren juſtified from the accuſation ſo maliciouſly urged againſt them. He nevertheleſs intreated the commandant to conceal the detail of the affair from the Nabob; fearing, as he ſaid, the conſequences that might enſue to the widow; but more probably wiſhing to avoid the enmity of the ſecretary Narimrao.

The officer having informed Ayder, that the affair was terminated, that prince was contented with ſaying, "I am perſuaded that the whole is an iniquitous contrivance of the widow Mequinez againſt the reverend fathers; for I am informed, that her conduct is ſuch, as, if ſhe does not take care, will finiſh by bringing no ſmall mortification upon herſelf *. However," added he, "ſince you and the reverend fathers forgive her,

* Ayder propoſed to the Swediſh officer, accomplice of Turner the Iriſhman, to eſpouſe this lady colonel, as a condition upon which he would pardon and reſtore him to his former poſt. This young man, aged twenty-eight, but of a ſpirited diſpoſition, abſolutely rejected the offer; ſaying, he would rather die than marry a woman who had proſtituted herſelf to all the Topaſſes. His pardon, and permiſſion to retire where he pleaſed, were the conſequence of this anſwer. The lady colonel afterwards married a mongrel Portugueſe ſerjeant; but ſhe was highly aſtoniſhed, when the Bacſi ſent for her to let her know that the Nabob had reduced her to ſerjeant's pay, becauſe ſhe had diſhonoured the name of her former huſband, whoſe ſervices had demanded that the woman who bore his name ſhould not be without the means of ſubſiſting reputably.

her, I ſhall ſay no more of it." He immediately gave orders to remove the guard he had placed over the Jeſuits. The good fathers were not, however, diſpoſed to pardon the lady ſpiritually: ſhe was excommunicated, and condemned to public penance; to which, though it may ſeem aſtoniſhing, ſhe ſubmitted with much apparent reſignation. The provincial father, in his letter, written to inform all the miſſions of the means by which his innocence was cleared up, ſpoke highly of the French officer; who, he ſaid, was in the higheſt favour with the Nabob. This eulogium produced a letter from the archbiſhop of Cochin, who recommended to him a Malabar prieſt, of the number of the Chriſtians of St. Thomas, whoſe dioceſan the archbiſhop was. He was deputed, together with three other laymen of his country, to requeſt of Ayder the permiſſion to keep fire-arms, under the pretence that, by not being armed, they ran the riſk of being robbed by the Nayres and the ſoldiers of the Nabob. The officer, who imagined he might ſafely give credit to the archbiſhop's letter, was much ſurpriſed when Ayder ſaid, he was no ſtranger to the antipathy that fomented their quarrel. "Theſe people," ſaid he, "have been diſarmed, becauſe they aſſaſſinated each other, being always at enmity on account of their prieſts, who are of different caſts: I ſhall take care to place ſafeguards in the country, to prevent my people from moleſting them, and I ſhall ſend troops ſufficient to diſperſe the Nayres."

Theſe Chriſtians of St. Thomas are of very ancient origin, being ſettled in India before the arrival of the Portugueſe. It is demonſtrated, that

that their St. Thomas was not the diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt. They are partly in ſubjection to the Pope, and partly under the patriarch of the Chaldeans, who reſides at Merdin in Meſopotamia. This diviſion cauſes them to deteſt each other; and, profiting by the troubles of their country, they were mutually engaged in a cruel war, when Ayder cauſed them to be diſarmed. The deputies who came to Coilmoutour were ſtout men, with a ferocious air and manner: they had the figure of a ſmall croſs above their noſe punctured in the ſkin, and a large ſcar on the right cheek, cauſed by the recoil of their muſquets. The archbiſhop, in his letter, offered to the commandant two young ſlaves, who, he ſaid, he had himſelf educated, and were qualified to render ſervices both of utility and pleaſure, being inſtructed in writing and in muſic. As he did not obtain his deſire, he ſent an inconſiderable preſent; with an excuſe, that the young ſlaves, at the moment of their departure, had cried and wept ſo immoderately, that his feelings would not ſuffer him to part with them. To this preſent were added a vaſt number of benedictions, and a promiſe that he would write to the Pope, then Clement XIII.

The ſame officer was employed by Ayder in a law-ſuit between the French and Engliſh factors reſident at Calicut. A merchant of that city had long been indebted to the French company; and having received a conſiderable quantity of wood from Ayder, the French factor agreed with him, that he ſhould pay his debt in that commodity, which was much wanted at Pondicherry, for the entire rebuilding that town, lately deſtroyed by the Engliſh. The quantity ſold

to the French factor being arrived at Calicut, the Engliſh factor prevailed on the Raja of Coilmoutour to ſeize it, on pretence that the Engliſh company had a prior claim on the merchant: the Raja, who was gained by the Engliſh, adjudged, after hearing the parties, that the Engliſh factor ſhould have the wood; which was accordingly carried by him to his factory: but on the appeal that the French commandant made to the Nabob himſelf, the Raja ordered the affair to remain in its then ſtate, till the deciſion of the ſovereign was known. He wrote at the ſame time in favour of the Engliſh; and the French factor, perſuaded of the goodneſs of his cauſe, begged the commandant of Europeans to intercede in his favour. This officer having impartially informed Ayder of the difference between the factors, the Nabob made him this anſwer: "Neither you nor I are ſufficiently informed to decide on this affair, eſpecially as our attention is required to things of more conſequence: but, that juſtice may be done, I have written to the Raja of Coilmoutour, to put the deciſion into the hands of the chiefs of the Portugueſe, Daniſh, aud Dutch factors; and whatever their judgment may be, to put it in execution."

In purſuance of this order, the delegated judges decided in favour of the French: but the Engliſh factor, to render the judgment illuſory, cauſed all the wood to be ſawed up, ſo that it was rendered unfit for any uſe, except to be burned: a piece of buſineſs that he could not have performed without the connivance of the Raja, whoſe duty it was to have placed a guard over the wood. The French factor, not being able

able to receive it in that ſtate, wrote to the Nabob, informing him of this diſgraceful manœuvre. On the account given by the French officer, Ayder immediately wrote to the Raja to repair to court with the utmoſt diſpatch. The governor had no ſooner received this order, than, ſuſpecting the buſineſs, he ſent for the Engliſh factor and the wood-merchant, and ſent the latter to the French factory to offer payment of the ſum due to the company. The French chief, bound to promote the welfare of his employers, could not refuſe accepting a payment that was much more advantageous than the wood; and accordingly gave the merchant a diſcharge.

The Raja, furniſhed with this piece, departed to wait upon Ayder; who demanded, on ſeeing him, how the affair was terminated between the French and Engliſh? The Raja, without being diſconcerted, anſwered with an affected laugh: "The Engliſh have loſt their cauſe; but, as they had ſpoiled the wood without waiting for the judgment, I have forced them to pay the value in money; and the French have given the merchant an acquittance, which he has put into my hands." Ayder, who was not the dupe of his artifice, took this occaſion to demand an account of the revenues and diſburſements of the country he governed; and nominated commiſſioners to receive his accounts. Though the Raja did not ſeem abaſhed at the diſcourſe of his ſovereign, yet he retired extremely chagrined that his ſtratagem had been turned againſt himſelf. On inſpecting his accounts, the committee condemned the governor to pay three or

four lacs of rupees * to the Nabob. To obtain either time or a mitigation of part of the ſum, he complained for ſome days of the rigour of this judgment; which he affirmed would ruin him, as he proteſted he was not poſſeſſed of ſo large a ſum. On his refuſal, Ayder placed guards about his palace, to prevent water from being brought him, becauſe, as a Bramin, he was obliged to waſh himſelf many times in the day. This ſtep forced him to open a ſecret repoſitory of treaſure in the very palace in which Ayder then reſided, but which is the ordinary reſidence of the Raja.

A French ſurgeon, who had cured him of a ſecret diſorder for the ſum of one thouſand rupees, half paid in hand, and the other half due, by a written promiſe to pay when the cure was completed, not being able to obtain the latter five hundred, though the cure had long been made, thought the preſent inſtant favourable to his deſire of being paid. Ayder having heard his complaint, ſaid, "Do as I did: let no water come into his houſe till you are paid." "But I have no ſoldiers," replied the ſurgeon. "But you have friends that have," anſwered the Nabob. Upon which advice the ſurgeon collected a number of French ſoldiers, by promiſing them a part of the ſum: they took poſſeſſion of the palace-gate; and the water-carriers not daring to approach, the ſurgeon received payment of his note, to the great diverſion of Ayder, who, notwithſtanding

* The lac is one hundred thouſand rupees. In turning rupees into ſterling money, they are, in India, eſtimated at thirty pence, or half a crown each, though the average value of the coin does not exceed twenty-ſeven pence.

withſtanding what had paſſed, did not remove the Raja from his government.

Ayder Ali, though in the midſt of the moſt brilliant of courts, had become uneaſy and thoughtful ſince the departure of Maffous Khan for Ayder Abad. This lord, after making the utmoſt diſpatch to arrive at the court of Nizam Dowla, Suba of Decan, had diſpatched letters which removed the ſuſpenſe of Ayder, and confirmed the intelligence given by the Iriſh officer. He ſent word that the Engliſh, by means of the Divan * Rocum Dawla, had determined Nizam to carry the war into Mayſſour; that all the friends of Ayder had in vain attempted to diſſuade him from the deſign; and that, having given himſelf up entirely to the ſuggeſtions of his Divan, he had beſtowed the command of his army on General Smith, who had brought a conſiderable corps of Europeans and Seapoys from Madraſs.

Upon the receipt of this authentic advice, Ayder determined to defer his expedition againſt Travancour till a more favourable opportunity, and to march to Syringpatnam, the capital of Mayſſour, to be in readineſs to meet his enemies. Ayder had been long abſent from this kingdom, in which he firſt ſaw the light, and where his fortune firſt began to diſcloſe itſelf. He was about to return, as one of the greateſt ſovereigns in India, to a kingdom he had left in the capacity of a ſubject; for the Dayvas, notwithſtanding their

* Rocum Dawla was brother-in-law to Mehemet Ali Khan, whom the Engliſh had made Nabob of Arcot. The title of Divan formerly ſignified the emperor's envoy, charged with the raiſing or receiving of the taxes and tributes; but at preſent it ſignifies the Miniſter and keeper of the great ſeal of the Suba.

great power, are only the firſt ſubjects of the king. It was the deſire of Ayder to make his entrance with all the pomp and ſtate his rank demanded, and his Savari was therefore very numerous and brilliant. His daily march was a kind of triumph.—The deſcription we ſhall proceed to give will be ſo much the more agreeable to the reader, as it will convey an idea of the magnificence of the Aſiatic proceſſions.

Ayder left Coilmoutour with a fine army of about fifty thouſand men; of which eighteen thouſand were cavalry, extremely well mounted, twenty thouſand Seapoys, and four thouſand Topaſſes, with their uniforms.

Every day of the march the cavalry lined the right ſide of the road by which the Nabob and his attendants were to paſs. The prince was ſaluted by all the officers and the ſtandards. When all the elephants on which the great men were mounted had defiled before one corps of the cavalry, that corps turned about to the left, and rode full ſpeed to take their place at the other end of the line. A company of huſſars, and one of dragoons, which formed the whole of the European cavalry, took the poſt of honour, and were the firſt to ſalute the Nabob; after which they placed themſelves at the head of the proceſſion: they were preceded by fifty couriers, well cloathed, and mounted on dromedaries. Next marched two elephants bearing the great ſtandards of the Savari, being gold embroidery on a blue ground; one repreſenting the ſun, and the other the moon and ſtars. After the two elephants marched that which carries the great timbals, called the grand Tomtom: they continually ſound during the time the Savari is in motion, and may be heard

at

at the diſtauce of more than a league; there is even ſomething grand and majeſtic in the noiſe; ——the orders of the general are communicated to all the army by means of theſe inſtruments. After this elephant came four others, carrying the muſic of the Savari, conſiſting of ſmall timbals, hautbois, flutes, and trumpets, the performers being thirty-two in number. Five elephants, called elephants of war, ſucceeded the four: they carry towers, or a kind of octagon chair, on their backs, which are bound with iron, and ſtrongly fixed to the ſaddle of the elephant by ſtraps and iron chains. In each of theſe chairs are ſix warriors, armed from head to foot in armour which is muſquet-proof; their offenſive arms being fuſils, and a ſpecies of blunderbuſs of a very large conical bore, that diſcharge a whole handful of balls at once. One of theſe elephants is intended for the Nabob, but he never makes uſe of it in any battle.

The proceſſion of elephants was ſucceeded by two companies of Caffres or Abyſſinian horſe. The men were completely armed, one company having their arms poliſhed, and the other bronzed, and both had large plumes of red and black oſtrich feathers on their helmets, which hung down their backs to the horſes crupper: they bore lances, the ſteel work of which was highly poliſhed; and the harneſs of their horſes was red, with black ſilk fringes. The cavaly was followed by a number of men on foot, habited like Caleros; that is to ſay, almoſt naked, with large ſilk ſcarfs, and cloſe drawers, reaching to the middle of the thigh: they carry long lances, ornamented with oſtrich feathers and ſmall bells, that were made to ſound by the motion of their march.

The Caleros were ſucceeded by a body of men carrying ſmall banners, or flags of a red ground, with flames of ſilver.

The lance-bearers uſually follow the prince to the chace: they are habituated to traverſe the mountains and foreſts; the bearers of ſmall ſtandards are ſent as ſafeguards to towns, villages, and caſtles: the appearance of theſe colours is ſufficient to prevent the ſoldiery from entering any place; but the magiſtrates muſt attend at the gates or barriers, to furniſh the army, upon payment, with every thing they may want.

After this crowd of people on foot came the *Baras a demi*, or nobility following the court, marching as they pleaſed, in order, though without diſtinction of rank; generals, bahaders, and even princes, marched indiſcriminately with ſimple volunteers. Nothing could be more brilliant than this troop: they were armed from head to foot, and mounted on the moſt beautiful horſes: their arms were damaſked and encruſted with gold and ſilver; many had their caſques ornamented with white feathers, formed of pearls and precious ſtones; and great numbers had coats of mail, gilt and enamelled: the bridles of their horſes were enriched with pearls and other valuable ſtones, and with plumes of feathers. The number of this troop varied every day, they being volunteers; but it was uſually about ſix hundred. They all had aſtagueris *, variouſly enriched.

The nobility were ſucceeded by eight eſquires or huntſmen of the Nabob, mounted on ſuperb horſes,

* The Aſtagueri is a paraſol not horizontal but perpendicular, formed of a rich ſtuff, embroidered with gold or ſilver. It is carried by men on foot at the end of a long ſtaff, painted and gilt.

horſes, and followed by twelve grooms on foot, each leading one of the Nabob's horſes, richly harneſſed; the firſt of theſe horſes was a preſent from the general of the Marattas to Ayder, and was extremely ſingular: he was of a mouſe-grey colour, with a white mane as brilliant as ſilver, and ſo thick and long, that it reached to the ground; it was tied together with a ribband; his tail was anſwerable in beauty to his mane: but the moſt remarkable circumſtance was, that he had a natural covering of a clear bay colour, which depended as low as his mid-thigh, and which commencing at the withers, finiſhed at a ſmall diſtance from the crupper: on this mantle flowers were artificially painted; ſo that, though the horſe was abſolutely naked, it was neceſſary to be very near him, in order to perceive that he was not covered with a cloth of ſome kind.

After the led horſes followed a troop of running footmen, with black ſtaves headed with gold, who were ſucceeded by twelve uſhers or Sauquedars on horſeback, carrying ſilver maces with ſmall crowns at top. After theſe came the grand officers of the houſehold, as the ſteward, the chief uſher, the ſword-bearer, &c. they had each a large collar or chain of gold depending on their breaſt, as marks of their dignity. Theſe officers preceded the grand almoner or Perjada, who marched alone, mounted on an elephant covered with green. He was immediately before the Nabob himſelf, who rode on the white elephant of the queen of Canara, an animal formerly worſhipped as an idol, but now in a ſtate of ſlavery, having large ſilver rings on his feet, with chains of the ſame metal. This elephant, which is ſaid to be equal in value to a thouſand others, was

far ſuperior to them in height and magnitude: he was covered with yellow, a colour much affected by the emperor and the Subas. The pavilion in which the Nabob ſat was covered with ſtuff of the ſame colour, and had no other ornament than four ſmall globes of ſilver; except that on each ſide, by ſilver chains, hung ſmall hatchets or axes, ſuch as the Samorin has carried before him. It is the cuſtom of the Indians to aſſume the marks of honour of thoſe they have vanquiſhed. The elephant bore on his head a kind of buckler of ſilver gilt, that repreſented a ſun: he was led by two conductors, the one ranked as captain of horſe in the Nabob's guard, and the other was his uſual keeper. In a ſmall pavilion behind the Nabob was a valet, to ſupply him with betel; and on each ſide an attendant ſtood upright on the foot-ſtep, holding by the pavilion with one hand, and having in the other a large inſtrument to diſperſe the flies, made of white peacocks feathers, which he cauſed to move circularly, and produced a ſingular effect at a diſtance. About two hundred elephants followed that of the Nabob, two and two: they were rode by only three perſons, the maſter, the conductor, and an attendant in the ſmall pavilion. The coverings and pavilions of theſe elephants were very different in colour and magnificenee: ſome were bordered with gold and ſilver lace: many of the pavilions were wrought ſilver; and there were ſome even enriched with precious ſtones, as were thoſe of the ſon of Ayder, and ſome others. The young prince was on the left of his father, and Raza Saeb on his right, but their elephants were not more than half the ſize of that of the Nabob.

After

After all the elephants in proceſſion, came what are in India called the honours, borne by five elephants. The firſt carried a moſque of gold or ſilver gilt, and of exquiſite workmanſhip, covered with white ſattin, that was taken off when the proceſſion came near any town or city; the ſecond carried at the extremity of a red ſtaff, the head of a fiſh, whoſe ſcales were formed of jewels and enamel, and a long horſes tail depended from the ſame; the third carried a large flambeaux of white wax in a chandelier of gold, or ſilver gilt; the fourth bore two ſmall pots of gold, called chambou, at the end of a large red ſtaff; and, laſtly, the fifth elephant carried a kind of round chair without a canopy, covered on the outſide with ivory, inlaid, and ornamented with gold *. After the honours followed two companies of Abyſſinians on horſeback like the two firſt; and the proceſſion was cloſed by two hundred Caffres on foot, clothed in ſcarlet, with ſilver collars, and armed with lances varniſhed black, and interſperſed with ſilver gilding: all the train was incloſed between a double rank of men on foot, clothed in white ſilk, having lances in their hands about fourteen feet long, varniſhed black, and adorned with plates of ſilver, at the armed ends of which were ſmall red ſtreamers with ſilver flames: the lance-men marched at ſuch a diſtance from each other as to incloſe the whole by joining their lances.

This grand proceſſion, on its march in the plain, had the moſt ſuperb and ſtriking effect.

Ayder was every where received with the moſt lively expreſſions of joy; the higheſt honours were

* All theſe honours are allegorical, and expreſſive of the virtues a ſovereign ought to poſſeſs.

were rendered him, and the people crouded to ſee him, while their acclamations, of "Long live Ayder!" were inceſſantly reiterated. Every village, town, and city, was ornamented; triumphal arcs, and other edifices, were erected in various places, according to the riches of the inhabitants; the houſes, and even the walls, of towns and fortreſſes were painted, or at leaſt new white-waſhed; governors, commandants, and other great men, came out in ſtate with their retinues, preceded by muſicians, ſingers, and dancers, known by the name of Bayaderes, to meet the ſovereign; flowers and ſweet water were diſperſed in his paſſage, and the cannon were heard in all parts of the country. It was in this triumphant march that he met his brother-in-law, Moctum Ali Khan, at the diſtance of about a league from Syringpatnam. This potentate was at the head of a numerous retinue mounted on elephants, and marched before Ayder to the iſland, where tents were magnificently dreſſed out near the city walls; all the army encamped on the iſland, and the ſituation of the camp brought to every one's recollection the great danger Ayder had avoided in the time of Canero at the ſame place.

Ayder came into Mayſſour without any fear of the events that might ariſe in the war he ſuppoſed himſelf to be engaged in with the Suba of Decan: he perfectly knew the indolent and inervated character of that prince, and had no apprehenſions from his army, which was defective in the eſſential articles of diſcipline, arms, and pay, and whoſe chiefs, being proprietors of their own troops, were his friends and partiſans. From this laſt circumſtance he was aſſured that General

ral Smith could make no movements without his receiving advice of them. As he was abuſed by Mirza, his brother-in-law, who every day gave him reaſon to think the truce with the Marattas would be ſoon renewed, he went forward with chearfulneſs, and in ſpirits; and arrived at Syringpatnam with the conviction that he could eaſily parry every attempt of his enemies. But his aſtoniſhment was extreme, when Moctum Ali Khan informed him that there was reaſon to ſuſpect the fidelity of Mirza Ali Khan; ſince he had learned that the army of the Marattas, to the number of 150,000 men, was on its march from Poni, with the young prince Madurao *, Nana of the Marattas, at their head, who was then beginning his firſt campaign; his march being directed towards Scirra, as Mirza could not but know, ſince he had envoys at Madurao's court.

To conceive the trouble and aſtoniſhment of Ayder at this news, it will be ſufficient to know, that Mirza Ali Khan, his brother-in-law and couſin, was the moſt beloved by him of all his relations; he had educated him himſelf; and the young lord, endued with the moſt eſtimable qualities, had always appeared full of gratitude and tender attachment. The great confidence Ayder had repoſed in his virtues induced him to think that he could not, in ſpite of his youth, place

* Madurao was the ſon of Balagirao, a Bramin, who had rendered the poſt of general of the Marattas hereditary in his family. This young prince was then no more than eighteen years old, and poſſeſſed the moſt uncommon ſhare of virtue and ability: his uncle Raguba cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. Nana ſignifies father: it is a name of honour given to Balagirao by the Marattas, which now ſerves as a title to his deſcendants. The general being called Nana, the king has no authority, and only acts like that of Mayſſour, in the ceremonies of religion.

place the important government of Scirra in better hands. The only precaution he took was that which he commonly uſed with all his governors, namely, to give him a miniſter, or principal ſecretary, whoſe fidelity he could depend on; and who had orders to give an accurate account of the conduct of his brother-in-law.

This man, who, like moſt courtiers, had concealed his ambition, and the bad principles that actuated him, conceived the hope of making his fortune by means of Mirza. He undertook to gain the confidence of the young prince by flattery, and by condeſcending to all his wiſhes, or, in other words, to all his weakneſſes.

Mirza was young, generous, and addicted to pleaſure, and diſſipated the revenues of his government in his amuſements, inſtead of reſerving a part, according to the orders of Ayder. The Bramin, his ſecretary, ſo far from adviſing the Nabob, as he had engaged to do, or at leaſt remonſtrating to his young maſter, flattered him that he would have time to arrange his accounts, in caſe Ayder ſhould demand them, and to amaſs a ſum ſufficient to cover the deficiency, before the Nabob, then engaged in the war on the coaſt of Malabar, would think of viſiting Scirra. Mirza ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by the adulation of his ſecretary; and, continuing his imprudent extravagance, reduced the finances of his government to the utmoſt diſorder.

Ayder, who thought it proper to keep his brother-in-law in ſome fear, and concealed his project of making war on Trevancour, wrote to Mirza, giving him commiſſion to renew the truce with the Marattas; and at the ſame time acquainted him of his intention to repair to Syringpatnam

patnam at the end of the year, and afterwards to Scirra. He likewiſe gave orders to take, out of the money in reſerve at Scirra, a ſum ſufficient to obtain the renewal of the truce with the Marattas.

This letter, ſufficiently perplexing to Mirza in every particular of its contents, gave him much anxiety and trouble: but the Bramin, finding the occaſion favourable for averting the ſtorm that threatened him ſtill more than his maſter, addreſſed him thus: "If you have ſkill to ſeize the opportunity that Ayder preſents to you, you will not only be out of all embarraſſment, but may become an independent ſovereign. Send me among the Marattas, under the pretence, and with a commiſſion to renew the truce, and I will treat with Madurao, and the national council, in ſuch a manner, that they will with pleaſure acknowledge you ſovereign of the country you command; and for a ſmall tribute they will engage to defend you, as they deſire nothing more than to diminiſh the power of Ayder, who has taken this very country from them."

The inſinuations of the Bramin, ambition, the pleaſure of being independent, the fear of Ayder's arrival, and perhaps, more than any thing elſe, that falſe ſhame which prevents young people from recanting an error, determined this prince to betray his truſt. He ſuffered the Bramin to depart, giving him a commiſſion to treat with the Marattas as he thought proper. This faithleſs miniſter found the Marattas very much diſpoſed to liſten to him. There was an Engliſh envoy at Poni *, who propoſed to him to attack Ayder,

* Poni is the ſecond capital of the Maratta country, the reſidence of the general and the national council, and the place where the army annually aſſembles.

Ayder, at the ſame time that Nizam and the Engliſh attacked him on their ſide. The arrival of the envoy determined the grand national council to make war on the Nabob; but Madurao, though very young, poſſeſſed courage and greatneſs of ſoul, and would not conſent to form any alliance with a traitor. "I will not," ſaid he, "conſent to make war upon Ayder, unleſs he refuſes to pay the Chotay *; and, in that caſe, the Maratta army will be ſufficient to compel him, without requiring an alliance with any one, much leſs with a traitor." In ſpite of the generous ſentiments of this young prince, it was not in his power to determine the general council; and he was obliged to conform to their deciſion.

The very day following that on which Moctum had apprized him of the infidelity of Mirza, Ayder received news of the arrival of the Marattas into the country of Scirra. It was in the higheſt degree afflicting to him, when he heard that his brother-in-law, to complete his ingratitude, had joined his enemies with the very army that was entruſted to his charge; and that he had engaged to admit

* The Chotay is the ſeventh part of the revenue of the Subaſhip of Decan and its dependencies, which Aurengzebe granted to the Marattas. It is not regularly paid; but the Marattas raiſe contributions in conſequence of their claim, which are regulated according to their power, and the riches of the ſtate that pays them. Ayder, who poſſeſſes conſiderable tracts of country, as Mayſſour, &c. that owe the Chotay, in virtue of Aurengzebe's gift, has never ſubmitted to this payment; inſiſting that no one has any right to compel the people to pay any tax or tribute, except for the good of the ſtate, or by the right obtained by ſuperior ſtrength; that the Marattas being in this laſt caſe, he owed them nothing, becauſe God had made him powerful enough to defend his ſubjects againſt them. He has therefore never made peace with that nation, but only truces for three years, ſometimes by paying them a ſum of money, and ſometimes without paying any thing, according to the fortune of war. It is certain that, in the treaties made between theſe powers, the Chotay is never mentioned.

admit the Marattas into Scirra, and every other fortreſs in his government.

An event ſo totally unexpected overthrew all the projects Ayder had formed, and reduced him to the moſt difficult plan of defence. For though, upon the falſe advice of Mirza, he had ſuppoſed the Marattas were ready to renew the truce, yet he had concluded that, at all events, he ſhould have time to meet them on the other ſide of Scirra; and, by joining his army to that of Mirza, he might give them battle, with Scirra, and the other ſtrong places of that government, behind him, to which he might retire, if neceſſary: an event he hoped to ſee decided before Nizam Daulla could arrive with his army on the frontier of Benguelour, where of neceſſity he muſt make his firſt attack on him. But his dominions being laid open by the treaſon of Mirza, he could neither meet the Marattas, nor the combined armies of the Suba and the Engliſh; but was forced to wait for them under the cannon of Syringpatnam, the capital of Mayſſour: for the country between that city and Scirra being a plain, without one good fortreſs, and his army much inferior to the Marattas in cavalry, he muſt have fought to a great diſadvantage, as he muſt have run the riſque of a total defeat, without being able to ſecure his country from pillage. The numerous Maratta cavalry, habituated to make incurſions, and to ſubſiſt on the ſtraw that covers the houſes, would infallibly ſpread themſelves over all Mayſſour, and might cut off his communication with the magazines of Syringpatnam, and the mountains in its vicinity, which were the only reſource to ſupport his army; and again, the army of Nizam would probably haſten its march, on hearing of the

the operations of the Marattas: of which concatenation of circumſtances, the probable reſult would be, that, finding himſelf between two armies, he might be forced to retire into Canara, and abandon Syringpatnam, and the kingdom of Mayſſour, to his enemies.

The genius of Ayder, vaſt and fertile in reſources, ſeems to have been formed to ſhine in critical and embarraſſing ſituations of this nature. He immediately determined on a plan of action: he divided all his army into ſmall parties, and diſperſed them over all the country, with orders to all the chiefs to command and oblige all the inhabitants, as well of the country, as of the cities, towns, villages, and fortreſſes, to abandon their dwellings, and retire to Syringpatnam, bringing with them all their property of any kind whatſoever. The troops were ordered, at the ſame time, to lay the whole country waſte, without ſparing any thing but the trees; and to burn all forages, even to the ſtraw that covered the houſes. To facilitate the devaſtation, and the tranſport of goods, all the ſutlers, valets, and other dependants on the army, were permitted to ſhare the univerſal pillage; and they went forth on this expedition, attended by every beaſt of burthen belonging to the army or the city.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to form an idea of the promptitude with which this extraordinary order was carried into execution; and in how ſhort a time one of the fineſt and moſt beautiful countries in the world was changed into a deſart, for thirty leagues round Syringpatnam. It is difficult to determine who were the readieſt to ſhew their obedience, the inhabitants or the army: the

the former abandoned their houſes, leaving nothing they could carry away, and they were ſucceeded by the troops, one party after another, who finiſhed, by leaving abſolutely nothing. Horſemen and ſoldiers were continually arriving at Syringpatnam, carrying corn, rice, maize, and even wooden beds and earthen pots, no one chuſing to return empty-handed: and, what may ſeem ſtill more ſurpriſing, all the inhabitants arrived chearful and contented, ſome carrying their children, others their ſick and infirm; the number of whom, in this happy climate, is always very ſmall. As ſoon as any troop of people arrived, they were paid immediately the value of their effects, at ſo advantageous a price, that no diſpute ever aroſe on the ſubject; and afterwards they were diſpatched to an allotted part of the neighbouring mountains, where they were allowed a ſufficient quantity of rice and other neceſſaries, at a price much below that which was given for what they ſold at Syringpatnam *.

To remove the ſurpriſe, that a whole people chearfully abandoning their habitations muſt occaſion, we only need obſerve, that all the lands are the property of the ſovereign, the cultivator being

* The moderate price of proviſions in the vallies, where theſe inhabitants of the plain went to dwell for a time, ought not to be a matter of wonder, when the abundance at Coilmoutour is reflected on, and it is conſidered, that in the warm climates nothing is required on the earth but water, to inſure good harveſts. The rains are the moſt abundant in the mountainous countries, and the Indians have made vaſt baſons at the feet of the mountains, which preſerve great quantities of water, more than ſufficient for all the purpoſes of agriculture. Ayder, inſtead of receiving his revenues in money, like the other Indian princes, receives them in proviſions, which he diſpoſes of as well to his own advantage as that of his people.

being no more than an annual tenant. The Indians of this country, even thoſe who dwell in towns, have no other furniture than a bedſtead, without covering or teſter, whoſe bottom is compoſed of withy, and the bed-clothes of the richeſt is no more than a carpet; a few cheſts of paſteboard to incloſe their linen, ſome mats, and utenſils of pottery, without tables or chairs, whoſe uſe is unknown to them, as well as three-fourths of the moveables which the Europeans employ; and, as their houſes are built of brick or earth, with very little wood-work, all the damage that the moſt mercileſs enemy can do, is quickly repaired.

While the troops were employed in laying the country waſte, the utmoſt diligence was uſed in completing the fortifications of the camp, which, on the left, terminated againſt the city ramparts, and on the right at a redoubt ſituated at the extremity of the canal, that, with the river Caveri, forms the iſland on which the city is built. By this poſition, the back part of the camp was ſecured from every attack by the canal, which is very broad and deep, with ſteep banks: the front of the camp was defended by nine large redoubts, mounting twenty-four, thirty-three, and thirty-ſix pounders, that commanded the whole plain. About 300 toiſes before theſe, on the banks of the river, were ſeven other redoubts, flanking thoſe before-mentioned, each mounting ſix or eight pieces of cannon, and ſerved by five hundred men. All theſe redoubts had ditches before them, planted with palliſades; and, as the river was every where fordable, and hard at bottom, twenty thouſand coltrops were forged, to be laid as ſoon as the enemy appeared diſpoſed

to

to the attack. About one hundred pieces of cannon from the town ramparts, and fifty that were in a fortified pagoda ſituated on a very ſteep hill on the other ſide of the river, oppoſite the part of the iſland fartheſt from the city, would have flanked thoſe who might be diſpoſed to attack the firſt line of redoubts; and the ſame artillery would have rendered the attack of the ſecond line ſtill more difficult.

In this camp, defended by three hundred pieces of cannon, it was, that Ayder waited the approach of his enemies; and, as his cavalry would have been of no uſe to him, he divided it into two parties; the principal of which was given to Moctum, who was ſent to meet Nizam in the country of Benguelour, where he made the ſame devaſtation as had been made in the plains near Syringpatnam. As that country is interſperſed with woods and mountains, and contains many very defenſible fortreſſes, it was not ſo entirely abandoned; this circumſtance furniſhed Moctum with better opportunities of harraſſing the army of Nizam, and carrying of the foragers, who were of neceſſity much ſpread abroad on account of the waſte ſituation of the country.

The command of the reſt of the cavalry, a ſmall body of infantry, and all the irregular troops, was given to * Mirr Feſoulla Khan, ancient

* Mirr Feſoulla Khan, is a Mogol nobleman of a very ancient houſe. All his family is attached to Ayder. His brother was Bacſi, or miniſter of war: he is a man of a very handſome figure and appearance, as fair as an European, very intelligent, of a moſt amiable and generous character, but more inclined to expence than his fortune allows: he would be an extremely proper perſon to be ſent on an embaſſy to Europe. Ayder has a great regard and eſteem for him; and his prodigality is one of the qualities

cient Nabob or prince of Colar, and principa general of Ayder, with orders to repair to the kingdom of Biſnagar, and defend the paſſes in the mountains which ſeparate that kingdom from Canara, and to prevent the Marattas from penetrating, by joining his force to the military eſtabliſhment of that country. He had inſtructions to aſſiſt Baſſapatnam, the capital of Biſnagar, if the Marattas ſhould attack it, and to harraſs the rear of their army, if they ſhould advance towards Syringpatnam.

While Ayder was buſied in theſe preparations, to which he was compelled by one of the moſt critical ſituations it is poſſible for a great monarch to find himſelf in, he rode out every day on horſeback, without many attendants, and affected to ſhew himſelf often to the army and citizens. His countenance was not then enlivened with that gaiety that uſually diſtinguiſhes him, becauſe his mind was occupied with the danger that threatened him, and he has not acquired the habit of diſguiſing his thoughts; on the contrary, a kind of mild languor or ſadneſs appeared in his looks, that would have intereſted even his enemies in his misfortunes: his tent was open at all times, and he never was eaſier of acceſs than at this juncture.

Though every kind of aſſembly and amuſement was forbade, he inſtructed his generals concerning the means he thought proper to uſe in his defence, with an air and manner not in the leaſt expreſſive of embarraſſment.

The Europeans of his army, who intereſted themſelves with an anxious eagerneſs in the ſucceſs

lities that have procured him the confidence of that Nabob, who, like Cæſar, is of opinion, *that they who love mirth and pleaſure, are not the men who engage in conſpiracies.*

ceſs of the prince, were impatient to know the poſt he would aſſign to them, in caſe of an attack; for Ayder did not make public his order of battle, and cauſed the guards of every poſt to be changed daily, though, according to the news, the enemy was on the point of arriving. To ſatisfy their impatience, their commandant, with two other officers, waited upon Ayder, and acquainted him that, as he had always conferred upon the Europeans the honour of the moſt important poſt, they were come to requeſt that he would put the defence of the firſt line of redoubts into their hands *. The prince immediately anſwered, "I had already determined to appoint you to the poſt you requeſt; and the demand you make, on an occaſion when my enemies are innumerable, is ſo much the more agreeable to me, as it is a new mark of your affection: take the command, plant your colours † in the centre redoubt; and you may be aſſured of being powerfully ſeconded, for I myſelf will command the ſecond line, and engage to ſend you the neceſſary ſuccours. I am very much oppreſſed with the treaſon of Mirza, whom I have always treated as my favourite child; and I have had no reaſon to expect ſo numerous a combination of enemies; who, ſo far from being provoked, have been loaded by me with benefits: but, notwithſtanding their number, I do not

* The Topaſſes, commanded by European officers, were eſteemed of this number, and the huſſars and dragoons alſo ſerved in defence of the redoubts.

† We have already obſerved, that all the commandant generals have a ſet of colours before their tent; that of the European commandant was diſtinguiſhed by a cannon with a ball in its chaſe, which denoted his poſt as chief of the artillery, and two ſtreamers above, as marks of his degrees in the cavalry and infantry.

not deſpair. "It is the power of God that has "raiſed me, and I poſſeſs nothing but through "him: as long as he ſupports me, I ſhall look "down on my enemies; and if he ſhould for-"ſake me, I muſt ſubmit with reſignation to his "pleaſure."

The fidelity of the commandants of the fortreſſes of Mark Scirra and Maggheri, gave Ayder all the time his preparations required; for theſe officers, when they learned that the governor general had joined his army to that of the Marattas under Madurao, refuſed to obey him: but the general, deſirous of poſſeſſing the whole country, thought proper to beſiege theſe places, which held out longer than was expected, particularly the fortreſs of Maggheri, into which a battalion of grenadier Seapoys had thrown themſelves voluntarily, ſimply on the requiſition of the governor of the place, while they were employed in laying the country waſte: they made a journey of fourteen leagues without one ſtopping, for fear * of being too late. When the fortreſs had capitulated, Madurao, was deſirous of ſeeing thoſe grenadiers, whoſe formation had made ſo much noiſe in India: he was aſtoniſhed to find theſe brave troops dirty and ill-equipped. "I am

* Their commandant was the ſame Cedra Khan whom the Engliſh affirmed they had taken priſoner near Tillicherry: they ſaid he was brother-in-law to Ayder, but he is only brother to one of the women of the ſeraglio: there is as much difference between him and a brother of one of the king's wives, as there is in Europe between a prince of the blood and a relation of the king's miſtreſs. All the relations of a ſervant (which is the title given to the Nabob's women) are his ſervants, and in that quality never ſit in his preſence, nor in that of his ſons or brothers, whatever may be their military rank; though all other officers, as low as captains of cavalry, have that indulgence.

am ſurpriſed," ſaid he, "that ſo powerful a prince as your maſter pays ſo little attention to ſuch brave men." Their commandant replied, "Deſirous of the honour of fighting againſt you, we haſtened away without any neceſſaries but the clothes on our backs; and we have marched a day and a night without eating or drinking." "I am charmed at your ſpirit," returned Madurao, "and ſhould be concerned that your maſter, who ſent you out well clothed, ſhould ſee you return in ſuch a ſtate;" and immediately ordered them two complete changes of clothes; adding *, that "though the terms of the capitulation require you to leave your arms and your colours, yet I return your colours as a mark of eſteem for your maſter, and a recompence due to your valour." Thus it was that war was carried on by men we are ſo ready to think barbarous.

After thus diſplaying the merit of the Indians, it would be unjuſt to paſs over in ſilence the ſpirited action of one hundred European cannoniers of different nations. They had marched, like the others, againſt the Marattas, ſuppoſing they were to fight them; but when they ſaw Mirza joined his army to theirs, they perceived the perfidy of the governor; and, repairing to their general, "Do you imagine," ſaid one of their officers, "that we will fight againſt Ayder, whoſe pay we have ſo long received? No, our intention is to fight for him, and not againſt him. Adieu." At the ſame time they depart-

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* In the Indian capitulations the garriſons are never made priſoners of war; but all the arms, colours, and ammunition, belong to the victors, and the baggage of individuals is ſpared.

ed, leaving all their baggage, having no other arms but their ſabres, becauſe the cannoniers in Ayder's army do no other ſervice than that of the artillery. They arrived at Ayder's camp, without having found any oppoſition; for Mirza, no doubt aſhamed of his treaſon, gave orders not to oppoſe their departure. Ayder received them with great pleaſure, and gave the officers bracelets of gold, called manilles, and money to the ſoldiers, paying them likewiſe the value of their baggage, upon their own eſtimation: this daring act of fidelity was perhaps the effect of the diſgrace inflicted on the Europeans who adhered to Canero.

General Smith and Rocum Dawla were ſoon adviſed of the junction of Mirza with the Marattas, and announced it to Nizam as a certain preſage of the ruin of Ayder. This news fruſtrated all the efforts and intrigues of Ayder's friends in the court of that Suba; and perhaps thoſe very friends, convinced that his ruin was inevitable, might grow cool to his intereſts. The Suba being always in want of money to ſupport his expenſive pleaſures, General Smith found it not difficult to perſuade him to haſten his march, without ſtopping to make any ſiege, leſt the Marattas ſhould take Syringpatnam, and ſeize the greateſt part of the ſpoils. This forced march, and the time conſumed by Madurao in his two ſieges, were the cauſes that both armies arrived together near Cenapatnam, about ſeven leagues from Syringpatnam.

The abſolute ſolitude and deſart face of the country, which the enemies perceived in their approach to the capital of Mayſſour; the daily loſs of their foraging parties, attacked by different

ferent bodies of Ayder's horſe; and the impoſſibility of obtaining any advice concerning the ſituation and force of Ayder's army, gave the different chiefs of the armies to underſtand that the brilliant hopes they had indulged, of ſharing the dominions and treaſures of Ayder, were not likely to be realized.

As ſoon as the two armies were joined, different corps of horſe appeared in the plain of Syringpatnam. Many advanced ſo near as to reconnoitre the town, and the redoubts in which Ayder's colours were diſplayed: as they met with no interruption from Ayder, they rode about the plain, and viewed every thing at their eaſe. The ſame ceremony was performed the following day; but on the third, at nine in the morning, the plain was covered with the cavalry of both armies, with their chiefs at their head on their elephants: this cavalry was followed by a body of infantry, who brought forward about fifty large cannon, that arrived about noon. The view was grand and ſtriking: the number of horſes was above one hundred thouſand; and there were more than two hundred elephants.

General Smith, at the head of a large body of cavalry, among whom were diſtinguiſhed various chiefs, though neither Nizam nor Madurao were ſeen, advanced to reconnoitre the camp. When this cavalry appeared diſpoſed to advance no farther, a ſignal was given from the redoubt in which Ayder was, and the fire poured at once from all the redoubts from the fortreſs at the head of the bridge *, and from the mountain: this laſt did

* This fortreſs is ſituated in a bend of the river. It is a good Indian fortification, to which Ayder has added a glacis and covered way,

no great miſchief, but terrified Nizam and his army, and convinced General Smith that the project of attacking Ayder in his camp was impracticable, eſpecially for an army whoſe chief ſtrength lay in cavalry. Towards the evening they who commanded this vaſt multitude of men, retired, together with their ſoldiers, in much diſorder, to their reſpective camps.

The following day, a council was held with Nizam, at which the chiefs of both armies aſſiſted. Every one being deſirous of putting his own opinion in practice, no determination was ſettled on, though General Smith gave the only good advice; which was, to ſeparate the two armies, and make feints to draw Ayder out of his camp; but, notwithſtanding the propriety of this idea, every one was diſſatisfied with it, becauſe it ſhewed too plainly, that their elevated expectations were ill-founded, and required great abatements to reduce them to probability.

The Maratta chiefs having returned to their camp, no more councils were held; but the two camps remained in the ſame ſituation, many meſſengers paſſing between them. The Marattas traverſed the country, as well as different corps of Nizam's army: they frequently met the cavalry of Ayder, which almoſt always had the advantage; Moctum, eſpecially, who is an excellent officer, had the moſt decided ſucceſs. Forages every day became more ſcarce, and the capture of the foragers, of horſes, elephants, camels, and oxen, continued to ſuch a degree, that they at laſt could not be ſold at Benguelour at any rate.

At

way, planted with palliſades. The chief difficulty of the attack ariſes from the figure of the place, which, forming a creſcent, would enfilade the trench of the enemy.

At length the proviſions of rice brought by the merchants were exhauſted, and the price of this indiſpenſable article, as well as of every other neceſſary, increaſed every day. Ayder, who was informed of every thing as it happened, remained at his eaſe in his camp, where every thing was in ſuch great abundance, that ſubſiſtence coſt ſcarcely any thing. The inhabitants, ſuppoſing every thing would fetch a great price, had laid in vaſt ſtores; every ſoldier had a hole in the earth near his tent, filled with rice; the river afforded fiſh in abundance; and every kind of country proviſions came from the mountains and vallies in the night, attended by a numerous eſcort of infantry, after four hours travel through a road interſected by hedges and ditches, where the cavalry would have had no opportunity of ſhining.

The Marattas, under the pretence of being nearer to the forages, withdrew from Cenapatnam, and encamped on the Caveri, at five leagues from Syringpatnam. It appears, that they muſt have conferred with Ayder previous to the movement; for two days after the change of their camp the truce was concluded on; and on receiving ſix lacks of rupees in hand, and ſix payable in ſix months, they engaged to retire out of his country, and to reſtore Scirra: but the reſt of the diſtrict intruſted to Mirza was abandoned to them, and they ſuffered that governor to remain in poſſeſſion of it, on the condition of paying a ſmall tribute; for the ſecurity of which they retained the fortreſs of Magheri: the money was no ſooner counted, than the Marattas raiſed their camp, and departed, taking the road to Scirra.

This news gave the alarm in the camp of Nizam, and that ſovereign, more alarmed than the reſt, was exceedingly embarraſſed. Ayder, who knew his character, and judged it a proper occaſion to impreſs him with ſtill more terror, recalled his army from the kingdom of Biſnagar, marched his troops out of the iſland, and encamped in the plain on the road to Cenapatnam. This manœuvre produced its whole effect on the timid and enervated prince, and diſpoſed him to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of Bazaletzing, his brother, Maffous Khan, and other friends of Ayder: and there is no doubt, but he would have proceeded in direct oppoſition to his Divan, if that miniſter, ſeeing the impoſſibility of encouraging his maſter, had not been the firſt to give him the direct advice to treat with Ayder; and offered to undertake the negociation himſelf, as a buſineſs that he was confident might be concluded with the greateſt facility. To remove general Smith, and the greateſt part of the Engliſh forces, he informed that commander, that ſince, in the preſent ſituation of things, proviſions and ſuccours could only be had from the country of Arcot, it was neceſſary that the Engliſh ſhould get poſſeſſion of certain places belonging to Ayder, to ſecure a free paſſage for the convoys that might be ſent from Madras and the other places dependent on the Engliſh and Mehemet Ali.

The Engliſh general had not been blind to the diſpoſition that prevailed of treating with Ayder; but he was happy at an opportunity of approaching his frontiers, to place himſelf out of the reach of the perfidy it was probable he might experience; and to remove himſelf from a country in which he might be ſhut up, and obliged to ſurrender,

render, with all his army, if Nizam choſe to deliver him up to Ayder. He wrote an account to Madras of what had paſſed; and at the ſame time expreſſed his ſuſpicions of Nizam and his miniſter: he propoſed to make the beſt treaty they could with Ayder, for fear the Engliſh ſhould find themſelves charged ſingly with a war ſo much the more burthenſome as it would be in their own country; and, after having taken leave of Nizam, who loaded him with careſſes, from the ſatisfaction he had of ſeeing him depart, he ſet off, leaving, however, to the faith of Nizam, two hundred Europeans, one thouſand Seapoys, and ſome pieces of cannon.

While the government of Madras received the diſpatches of General Smith, Mehemet Ali Khan, Nabob of Arcot, received others from Rocum Daulla, his brother-in-law, which gave him the moſt poſitive aſſurances that Nizam would continue the war againſt Ayder, till he had forced him to yield at leaſt all the country of Benguelour, and all Malleam, or the Carnatic; that is to ſay, the vallies of Coilmoutour, Ceylou, Kiſnagari, &c.: and while he magnified the forces of the Suba beyond the truth, he diminiſhed thoſe of Ayder; who, he ſaid, were incapable of preſenting themſelves before the army of his invincible ſovereign. The council of Madras, perſuaded by Mehemet Ali Khan, paid no regard to the advice of General Smith, but ordered him to attack the places of Ayder, and to agree with Nizam in every thing; promiſing to ſupply him amply with proviſions, ammunition, money, and even troops, if neceſſary. At the ſame time that this unprincipled Divan wrote thus to Mehemet Ali, he diſpatched his other brother, Maffous Khan,

to Ayder, to offer to meet him at Syringpatnam, and to aſſure him, that he was diſpoſed to do every thing that might be agreeable to him, as Maſſous Khan would explain to him. Ayder, on receipt of Rocum Daulla's letter, in order to give ſome confidence to Nizam, cauſed his army to return to its ancient camp, and wrote to the Divan, that he would be received as became a perſon of his rank and character: it was likewiſe permitted to the merchants of his camp, and the country people, to carry proviſions to the army of Nizam. When this Suba had read the letter of Ayder, he ordered a ceſſation of arms, which was likewiſe ordered on the ſide of Ayder; and the Divan ſet out with a grand retinue. Ayder met him about a league from Syringpatnam; and, after a ſhort converſation, returned to his camp, and Rocum Daulla having ſeen the whole Savari of Ayder defile before him, encamped on the ſpot. The day following, the Divan came to have audience of Ayder in great ceremony; and, to loſe leſs time in going and coming, he came and encamped between the two lines of redoubts: both parties being deſirous of concluding, the treaty was made in a few days. It was agreed, that Tipau Saeb, the ſon of Ayder, ſhould marry the daughter of Maſſous Khan, who, as eldeſt ſon of Anaverdi Khan, was the lawful Nabob of Arcot: that Maſſous Khan ſhould give up all his right to his future ſon-in-law; who, in a few days after ſigning of the treaty ſhould be inveſted in the nabobſhip of Arcot by Nizam, of whoſe ſubaſhip it is a part: that the two Subas ſhould join their forces to reduce Mehemet Ali Khan, and thoſe who took his part: that during the time the two armies acted in conjunction, Ayder

ſhould

ſhould pay ſix lacks of rupees per month, and ſhould have the ſole right of putting garriſons in the ſeveral fortreſſes of the nabobſhip of Arcot; the command of which ſhould be given to Moctum Ali Khan, brother-in-law of Ayder, who ſhould govern the country in the names of his nephew, Tipou Saeb, and Maſſous Khan: that the former ſhould enjoy the whole revenue of that nabobſhip; for which Moctum ſhould account, after deducting the charge of ſupporting the troops, and adminiſtering the government.

To unite all the claims in the perſon of Tipou Saeb, Raza Ali Khan, ſon of Chanda Saeb, likewiſe yielded up to the young prince all his pretenſions as well to the nabobſhip of Arcot, as to Trichnapoli and Madura; and Ayder and Tipou Saeb, on their part, engaged to give him all the country of Tanjaor, after depoſing the Raja, as a puniſhment for the murder of Chanda Saeb, father of Raza: the country of Tanjaor was underſtood as intended to be held by him under the ſame vaſſallage to the Nabob of Arcot as it had theretofore been held by the former Rajas: and, finally, the two Sūbas engaged not to ſeparate, but to exert all their forces to carry this treaty into effect.

Previous to the ratification of the treaty which Maſſous Khan undertook to prepare, the retinue of Tipou Saeb was got ready; it was compoſed of ſix thouſand of the beſt infantry, of which three thouſand were grenadier Seapoys or Topaſſes, and four thouſand choſen cavalry, with about three hundred Europeans, including the company of huſſars; and he likewiſe had the greateſt part of his father's Savari. Maſſous Khan having brought the ratification, Rocum Daulla departed,

loaded with preſents, and Maſſous Khan accompanied him, in order to aſſiſt at the ceremony of the inveſtiture.

It will hardly be credited, that Ayder, at the moment of parting with his ſon, was in the greateſt perplexity and concern, and expreſſed it to his friends: "I am afraid," ſaid he, "of the perfidious and cruel Nizam: he has aſſaſſinated his own brother, will he ſpare my ſon? or, at leaſt, have I not reaſon to conclude that he will detain him, and compel me, by the apprehenſion of my ſon's danger, either to pay him a large ſum, or to make great conceſſions to him? For, in ſhort, I truſt my ſon in the hands of a wretch to whom nothing is ſacred." This diſcourſe, and many other actions of his, prove that one of the greateſt weakneſſes of Ayder is his extreme affection for his children and all his relations. However, on the aſſurances made by Raza Saeb and Mirr Feſoulla Khan (who were charged to accompany his ſon, and who proteſted they would themſelves periſh before the leaſt accident ſhould happen to the young prince) he ſuffered him to depart, being likewiſe much encouraged by reflecting on the bravery of the troops and the nobility that attended him.

This little army arrived by a ſingle march at Cenapatnam. The whole army of Nizam, and eſpecially the Engliſh, officers as well as ſoldiers, were extremely ſurpriſed at their appearance. Though they had heard of Ayder's army, yet they could not conceive how Indian troops, who have always been ill-diſciplined, could march in ſuch good order, and perform their evolutions with ſuch rapidity and exactneſs. The beauty of their arms and clothing was equally uncommon and ſtrange

ſtrange to them; and they were aſtoniſhed at the pomp of the Savari. The troops were no ſooner encamped than the officers came to viſit thoſe of Ayder, and continually ſpoke with admiration of the excellence of the troops.

The following day Tipou Saeb received a viſit from Bazaletzing, brother of Nizam: he was accompanied by Rocum Daulla, and the principal lords of the court. The ſucceeding day the ſon of Ayder repaired with all his retinue to the tent of the Suba, who rendered him the higheſt honours, and gave him the inveſtiture of the nabobſhip of Arcot, with all its dependencies, in the preſence of Maſſous Khan and Raza Saeb, the only legitimate pretenders to that territory, and who, by their voluntary ceſſion, left no doubt concerning the rights of the ſon of Ayder Ali Khan. Immediately after this ceremony Nizam diſmiſſed the few remaining Engliſh troops, acquainting them that the alliance he had contracted with Ayder Ali Khan having terminated their differences, he had no farther occaſion for their ſervices; and that he ſhould write to the governor and council of Madras, to which place they might retire.

As ſoon as Ayder was informed that his ſon was acknowledged Nabob of Arcot, he wrote to his Ouaquil, Menagi Bandec, reſident at Madras, tranſmitting to him a memorial to be preſented to the governor. The ſubſtance of the memorial was, that Nizam Daulla and Ayder Ali Khan, being well informed that Mehemet Ali Khan *, by his continual uſurpations and intrigues, was the

* Ayder was not ignorant that Mehemet was no more than the agent of the Engliſh; but, he acted in this manner to retort their own politics upon themſelves.

the author of all the troubles that had ſo long agitated Indoſtan, had reſolved to make war upon him, till they had deprived him of all the territory he poſſeſſed to the excluſion of the proper and legitimate heirs: that in conſequence they thought proper to warn the Engliſh againſt affording him any aſſiſtance; and required them to withdraw their troops out of any garriſons they might poſſeſs in the Nabobſhip of Arcot, or any of the countries uſurped by Mehemet: that nevertheleſs, as it was known that theſe places were pledges for ſums due to them from Mehemet Ali, Ayder Ali offered to reimburſe them in any ſums lawfully due, among which he could not reckon thoſe ſums that were diſpenſed for the purpoſes of diſpoſſeſſing the Nabobs of Veilour, Vandevachi, and other rightful proprietors, of their territories; but, on the contrary, he expected that theſe laſt ſhould be indemnified from all the loſſes they had ſuſtained.

It may be eaſily conceived that a memorial or manifeſto, totally new and uncommon in India, and declaratory of a war againſt the Engliſh, of which they were to bear the whole expence, muſt have cauſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment to that people. This declaration was directed againſt the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh, Mehemet Ali Khan being a Nabob merely nominal, without troops or money, and the ſlave of the Engliſh.

It was the policy of the Engliſh in India to traverſe the deſigns of the ſmalleſt potentate, who might wiſh to enlarge his dominions, for fear he might arrive to a capability of making head againſt them: their adminiſtration had long been alarmed at the rapid conqueſts of Ayder, and the ſudden elevation of his power. In conſequence of

Nizam

Nizam Daulla's having ceded to them four northern provinces, they had engaged to furniſh twelve hundred Europeans, and a corps of Seapoys, to the army of that Suba: General Smith, commander of this body of troops, was ordered to inſpire Nizam with jealouſy of the conqueſts of Ayder; and to confer with Rocum Daulla concerning the projected war; offering the Suba all the Engliſh forces, and fixing his attention on the immenſe treaſures Ayder had found in the kingdom of Canara and the coaſt of Malabar; treaſures which they affirmed could not but fall into his hands, as it was impoſſible for Ayder to ſtand againſt the united forces of the Suba and the Engliſh.

The Engliſh government did not at that time indulge the hope of plundering Ayder entirely, but they expected to ſtop the courſe of his conqueſts, and oblige him to abandon the coaſt of Malabar, among the inhabitants of which they propoſed to excite a revolt. By this means their intention was to compel Ayder to yield, either to them or to Mehemet Ali Khan, all the country dependant on Mayſſour that lies beyond the great *Gates*, or mountains; which, according to them, ought to be the natural bounds of his dominions. They propoſed to leave him in poſſeſſion of all the reſt of his dominions, in the perſuaſion that it was of advantage to the ſecurity and tranquillity of their poſſeſſions, that ſo warlike and powerful a prince as Ayder ſhould be between them and the Marattas *.

But

* That it may not be thought that the author of theſe Memoirs expreſſes his own ideas rather than thoſe of the princes, governors, and generals he ſpeaks of, he thinks it proper to obſerve, that theſe

But at all events, whether the hopes of the Engliſh reſpecting the war with Ayder were rational or not, it is certain that when they learned that the Marattas had declared war againſt him, and Mirza his brother-in-law had joined them, their expectations were unbounded, and they devoured by anticipation the treaſures of Ayder.

The council of Madras, who till then had envied the brilliant fortune of the Calcutta adminiſtration in the enjoyment of an immenſe territorial revenue, flattered themſelves in a ſhort time to realize their chimercial hopes, and to equal them in ſpledour and importance. Their letters to the Court of Directors were filled with brilliant projects, that promiſed no leſs than the poſſeſſion of all the coaſt from Cape Rama to Cape Comorin: the Court of Directors were thrown into a kind of delirium by their admiration of the profound policy of their ſervants; and every one being anxious to poſſeſs a large ſhare of the Company's ſtock, the price roſe to £. 275 *per Cent.* in the year 1768, though it afterwards fell at once to £. 220, on the news of the excurſion of Ayder's cavalry to the gates of Madras; a fall which, to the preſent time, has been conſtantly increaſing.

Ayder Ali Khan having by his addreſs deſtroyed the formidable alliance on which the Engliſh company formed ſuch pleaſing dreams, becauſe they knew ſo little of the character and power of their allies, and ſtill leſs of the enemy whoſe ruin they meditated,

theſe pretenſions are collected from a conference between himſelf and the governor (Boſchier) of Madras, together with Colonel Call, firſt in council, and chief engineer; in which they attempted to perſuade him, that it was the intereſt of Ayder to make this ceſſion, in order to inſure the protection and aſſiſtance of the Engliſh.

meditated, it became incumbent on the council of Madras to juſtify themſelves: for this purpoſe they could find no better pretence than to attribute the defeat of their projects, and the war that threatened them in the country of Arcot, to the intrigues of the French.

The deſpotiſm exerciſed in India by the Engliſh, againſt other European nations, was ſuch, that there was nothing they heſitated to do againſt any power, whether native or European: they never pardoned other nations the crime of fulfilling their engagements, of whatever nature they might be, with any ſovereign, though they themſelves ſold muſquets and cannon to every Indian power; ſeven-eighths of Ayder's arms being of Engliſh make. Their cruelty towards their priſoners, and the barbarity with which they deſtroyed Pondicherry, had reduced the greateſt part of the French to miſery. The unhappy ſituation they found themſelves in after the eſtabliſhment of the peace, compelled great numbers of them to ſeek employment and ſubſiſtence from Ayder and other princes: When any of theſe unfortunate people fell into the hands of the Engliſh, a dungeon was the lighteſt puniſhment they were to expect. To accompliſh their purpoſes they employed, as will be ſhewn in the courſe of theſe Memoirs, promiſes, menaces, and even forgery, to cauſe them to enter into their ſervice.

So far from the French government having had any concern in this war, declared by Ayder, it is certain that no correſpondence with reſpect to that Nabob's operations ever exiſted, either between him and them, or with any officer of Ayder's army, till after the concluſion of the treaty between Ayder and Nizam;——truth obliges me

me to make this laſt exception. The correſpondence began by two letters, one from Ayder, and the other from Raza Saeb, which theſe perſonages charged the commandant of Europeans to forward to the governor of Pondicherry.—— Here follows the ſubſtance of the letters.

Ayder complained in his letter, that the Engliſh, without provocation, and after receiving many favours, had projected his ruin; and by every ſpecies of intrigue had formed a league with the Suba of Decan, and the Marattas, againſt him: that they had attacked his places, without any other inducement than a deſire to rob others of their property; but that he had diſſolved the league made againſt him, by forming an alliance with Nizam Daulla, for the purpoſe of making war againſt the Engliſh and Mehemet Ali Khan, the promoter of their unjuſt aggreſſion.

He obſerved, that by having formerly aſſiſted the French againſt the ſame enemy, and having ſaved Pondicherry, he had every reaſon to hope that the French would return him the ſame good office in ſo juſt a war: that he was not ignorant of the peace then (1767) ſubſiſting between the French and the Engliſh; but that, while the orders of the French king were expected, he might ſend concealed ſuccours, for which Ayder would be very thankful, and pay any price that might be charged for the ſervice to be done: that, in ſhort, he referred to the letter of the French commandant, on whom he had a perfect reliance, and whoſe propoſals on Ayder's part might be credited as if ſigned by himſelf, and to whom he might addreſs himſelf on any ſubject that required ſecrecy.

Raza

Raza Saeb wrote, that his family had always been attached to the French ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment in India: that in conſequence of his inviolable attachment, his father had loſt his life, his mother was priſoner at Madras, and he himſelf had loſt every thing: that an opportunity now preſented itſelf of repairing his fortune in ſome meaſure, by the aſſiſtance of his friends: that he hoped to find his moſt ancient allies, the French, diſpoſed to aſſiſt him againſt thoſe who had unjuſtly robbed him, and were the cauſe of all his misfortunes: he concluded his letter, like Ayder, by referring to the French officer for details, having, as he affirmed, the moſt unbounded confidence in him.

Theſe letters were ſecretly carried to Pondicherry by the Perſian writer of the commandant, a man deſerving the moſt abſolute confidence, and who had been long attached to the French nation, having been employed by M. Lally at Pondicherry, where his reſidence had been for above thirty years, and where his wife and children then were: the letters were put into the ſtock of a piſtol, which this man wore at his girdle, walking on foot, and leading an ox loaded with ſeveral wares of the country, like a petty merchant or pedlar.

To anſwer the truſt theſe two princes repoſed in him, and to fulfill his duty to his king and country, the commandant diſpatched a letter, together with thoſe of the Nabobs.

After confirming the reſolution taken by the two Subas to carry on the war on the coaſt of Coromandel, he gave an exact detail of the forces of Ayder, and thoſe of Nizam; and, to ſhew that he had ſpoke with

with a knowledge of the buſineſs, he likewiſe gave an account of the Engliſh forces. He demonſtrated that it was impoſſible for the Engliſh to ſecure themſelves from loſs in this war, becauſe their former ſucceſſes in India aroſe from their wars being carried on near the ſea-coaſt, or on the banks of the Ganges, which gave them a facility of conveying ſtores and ammunition by ſea, and receiving other aſſiſtance from their veſſels; whereas, in their conteſt with Ayder, they would be deprived of thoſe advantages, the war being to be carried on in a country remote from the ſea, without one navigable river; where the fortreſſes are ſpread at great diſtances from each other; and where every advantage would depend upon cavalry, of which the Engliſh were entirely deſtitute: that the army of Ayder was totally unlike thoſe of the other Indian powers, the duty being performed with regularity: and that, if the Engliſh placed any dependence on night attacks, ſurprizes, or treaſon on the part of his generals, they would find themſelves miſtaken: that he himſelf, being intruſted with the ſafety and preſervation of the army, could with the moſt abſolute confidence promiſe to inſure it from any ſurprize; and that the treaſons ſo frequent in the other Indian armies could not take place in Ayder's, becauſe the generals had no property in their troops, all the officers, horſemen, and ſoldiers, having but one maſter: and, concluding that Ayder would have the advantage, he adviſed that an exact and abſolute neutrality would not be the moſt prudent mode of action, becauſe it would of neceſſity diſpleaſe both parties.

ties *. But the medium he adviſed was, to ſend ſome ſmall ſuccours to Ayder, promiſing to ſend more; the performance of which promiſe might be delayed at pleaſure, by throwing the excuſe on contrary winds, that prevented the arrival of ſhipping. As the force at Pondicherry was but ſmall, no great force could be ſent from thence, but it would be ſufficient to ſend ſome officers and good gunners, who might join the army as deſerters, without embroiling the nation, whoſe intereſt it was to ſee the power of the Engliſh in India depreſſed, The officer added, that as a faithful ſubject of his king, and from the daring character of Ayder when he is attended with victory, he judged it proper to adviſe the governor to fortify Pondicherry as early as poſſible, were it only by clearing the ditches, raiſing the ramparts with dry earth or the ruins of the old works †, and mounting a few cannon on the baſtions; becauſe, if Ayder ſhould approach Pondicherry, and perceive it without defence, he might lay aſide the reſpect due to the French colours, and take all the artillery, and other matters he might be in need of, as payment of his due for the ſuccours formerly granted the French: at the ſame time the officer aſſured the governor, that if any violence or want of reſpect for the king's ſtandard ſhould be ſhewn, he might depend upon the cooperation of about eight hundred Europeans, who were in Ayder's army. The letter was concluded, by

* Ayder and Raza Saeb requeſted ſuccours, as a return for their former ſervices; and Mehemet Ali Khan demanded that the French ſhould ſupport him, as Nabob of Arcot, acknowledged by the treaty of Fontainebleau.

† The new fortifications of Pondicherry were then ſcarcely began; but the governor, immediately on the receipt of this letter, gave the place an appearance of being in a ſtate of defence.

by adviſing the governor to purchaſe rice and proviſions for Pondicherry, by taking advantage of the abundance then in the country, and the fear the inhabitants were in of being plundered by the Indian armies; becauſe the reſolution was taken to lay the whole country waſte by the cavalry and irregular troops, as was really done afterwards—(the French governor profited by this advice, and was in conſequence able, during the whole war, to keep the price of rice at Pondicherry at leſs than half its value at Madras): and, laſtly, the officer added, that to forward the good diſpoſition of Ayder and his allies, it would be proper to ſend M. B . . . ., or ſome other perſon eſteemed by Ayder, on an embaſſy, to compliment the two Subas.

The receipt of theſe diſpatches gave the governor infinite pleaſure, as they diſpelled his fears concerning Ayder, whom he juſtly conſidered as the natural ally of France. But, from experience, having a very low opinion of the bravery of Indian troops when they fight againſt Europeans, he could not adopt the ideas of the French commandant of Ayder's army: beſides which, the Company's inſtructions, then ſubſiſting, were ſo preciſe in commanding him to avoid every ſubject of contention whatſoever, and particularly with the Engliſh, that he thought himſelf obliged to anſwer theſe letters in a manner very different from what had been expected.

His letter to Ayder began by felicitations on the glory he had acquired by his conqueſts, and the glorious peace he had made with his numerous enemies, who were become his allies: he obſerved that it was with concern he heard that war, which is always ruinous to nations, was about

about to commence on the coaſt of Coromandel: that he wiſhed the Nabob every kind of proſperity, and would not fail to ſend an embaſſy to compliment him when he came near Pondicherry; but that he was exceedingly concerned at its being out of his power to diſpoſe of any troops againſt the Engliſh, becauſe the two nations were at peace, which he could not infringe without new orders from the king his maſter, to whom he would write without delay: and, laſtly, he referred to the French commandant, who had forwarded the Nabob's letters, and who, he ſaid, would explain ſuch matters as required detail.

The letter to Raza Saeb was to the ſame purport. In anſwer to the officer's letter, the governor adviſed him, that, by diſpatching the letters of the two Nabobs, he had ſubjected him to the riſque of breaking with the Engliſh; that he earneſtly begged he would ſpare him the conſequences of ſuch a correſpondence, as he could not render a greater ſervice to his country, in the then ſituation of the French in India, without troops, and without fortifications: that in the mean time, he would not fail to repreſent his compliance to this requeſt in its true light to the miniſter, and the Eaſt India company; and he might depend on his informing them of the ſervices he had rendered them by the important advices contained in his letter: that, from his own unhappy experience of the puſillanimity of the Indians, when they combat with the Europeans, he had reaſon to fear that the future war would not turn out to the advantage of the two Subas: that he could not, in any manner, afford aſſiſtance either to Ayder or Raza Saeb, his orders being too preciſe in directing to give no

ſubject

ſubject of complaint to the Engliſh, or to Mehemet Ali Khan: that he begged he would explain theſe reaſons to the two princes who had written to him, ſoftening his refuſal as he judged beſt: and, more eſpecially, he begged him to write no more directly to him, but that he ſhould be glad to hear news of his negociation by a letter in cyphers, which he might ſend by way of M....

There is no room to reproach this governor for his faithful and ſtrict obedience to his orders. It is to be wiſhed they had been leſs preciſe, as he might then have profited by this opportunity, that the miniſtry could not poſſibly foreſee; by a correſpondence with Ayder, he might have animated him to a war againſt the Engliſh, that would have been ruinous to their Company; and, by anſwering the wiſhes of that prince in a very ſlight degree, might have prevented certain events that impeded his progreſs, and which obliged him to make peace, and reſerve himſelf for another opportunity of enforcing his ſon's juſt pretenſions to the Nabobſhip of Arcot.

This governor gave advice to the miniſter and the Company of the approaching invaſion of the coaſt of Coromandel by the combined armies of the two Subas: and at the ſame time he communicated his fears for the event of the war, which he conſidered as neceſſarily productive of the ruin of Ayder; who would, he ſaid, have been a very uſeful ally, if the French officer (commandant of Europeans) wanting experience, had not carried him to this extremity, but had reſerved him for the time of war between England

land and France;—an expreſſion dictated by the European prejudice, which leads us to imagine that the inhabitants of the other parts of the world have not received from nature the ſame portion of reaſon and judgment as ourſelves, to determine for themſelves according to their own intereſt, rather than to follow the moſt ſpecious reaſoning that can be offered to the contrary. It is to be preſumed that, on the ſimple expoſition of the facts, or from the copy of the French officer's letter, the miniſtry had taken thoſe reſolutions, upon receiving the news of the invaſion, which were not determined on till the end of 1769—reſolutions that would have been fatal to the Engliſh empire in India, if the differences relative to the Falkland Iſlands had not been made up.

Ayder, after having determined to make a deſcent on the coaſt of Coromandel with Nizam Daulla, took every precaution to prevent interruption from other parts: he was ſenſible of the importance of the war he was engaged in, and which was to be tranſacted with enemies ſo much the more to be feared, as they knew how to fight. By the advice of his European commandant, he gave up the idea of forming a corps of European infantry, on account of the impoſſibility of making them ſufficiently numerous to face a ſingle Engliſh regiment: he therefore determined to incorporate all his European ſoldiers either among his huſſars or dragoons, or among his artillery, except ſuch as were made officers of the grenadier Seapoys or Topaſſes; which was the corps of infantry deſtined to face the Engliſh troops. The artillery of his army was likewiſe conſiderably augmented; and he took

took proper meaſures to have always an immenſe quantity of ammunition, ſuch as it was impoſſible for any European army to convey after them, or indeed for any other army that was not perfectly aſſured of its rear.

The Indian armies have great quantities of baggage, carried by oxen and camels, but chiefly by oxen, the camel being fit for little beſides parade: for this animal, on account of its fleſhy feet, cannot be ſhod, and is incapable of travelling either on a ſtony or a muddy clay ſoil, being apt to fall; it is likewiſe with difficulty made to paſs a river; and is, beſides, abſolutely incapable either of aſcending or deſcending a mountain when loaded. Beſides the baggage of the army, it is followed by a great number of * merchants and workmen of every kind, who have many beaſts of burthen. Ayder gave orders that all theſe, not excepting thoſe of the ſovereign, ſhould carry a ball, from twelve to ſix-and-thirty pounds, for which the proprietor of the beaſt ſhould be anſwerable.

A horde, conſiſting of a kind of Bohemians, very numerous in India, of unknown origin, inhabitants of the woods (whom the prejudices of India has forbidden to dwell in walled towns, becauſe it is ſaid they eat every kind of animal or

* Theſe merchants are the purveyors of the army, and render it unneceſſary for the ſovereign to provide other commiſſaries: it is ſufficient for the general to keep the paſſages free, and to inſtruct them, by the Cotual or provoſt, of the quantity of rice in the army. Rice, which is the only grain made uſe of either by the Indian or European troops, does not require to be made into bread; and conſequently there is no trouble of conſtructing ovens, which would be neceſſary in furniſhing an army with bread: however, the officers, and all who chuſe to go to the price, may have excellent bread in the Indian armies, which is baked in portable ovens, a kind of utenſil that might be introduced with great advantage into European armies.

or reptile) was permitted by Ayder, who is above prejudice, to follow the army, and ſell milk, wood, and every thing their induſtry could procure. Theſe men undertook to convey a conſiderable part of the powder, by means of their little carriages, drawn by buffaloes: to aſſiſt them in procuring a ſubſiſtance, part of them were taken into pay as pioneers, and were of the greateſt utility in ſieges and the conſtruction of intrenchments, or repairing of roads, as well by carrying earth as by making gabions and faſcines.

The harneſs of all the cannon and artillery was doubled; and, that nothing might retard their march, every piece of eighteen pounds or upwards was provided with an elephant *. The ammunition waggons carried two hundred charges of powder, and an immenſe number of cartridges, for the muſquetry. Every battalion of grenadier Seapoys had two four-pounders in its ſuite.

While theſe different preparations were making, Ayder arranged every affair relative to his dominions, ſo as to be out of apprehenſion of any unexpected event happening in his abſence.

* It can hardly be imagined how uſeful theſe elephants are, nor with what ſkill and intelligence they do their work. When a piece of artillery is drawn up a hill, the elephant is behind it, and ſuſtains it with his foot, while the oxen pauſe to take breath: if the piece is going down a hill, the elephant retains it by a rope faſtened to his trunk: if the tackle gets entangled, or if the piece overſets, or ſticks faſt, he aſſiſts the oxen according to the circumſtances. An officer of reputation, then major of artillery, but now (1782) reſident at Paris, affirms, that he has ſeen the elephant of a piece of cannon (out of patience to ſee that the oxen did not draw, in ſpite of the whips of their drivers) cut a branch off a tree, and beat thoſe animals till they acted as he thought proper.—When the piece is brought before the battery, the elephant himſelf places it in the embraſure, without any aſſiſtance.

The truce with the Marattas, and his alliance with Nizam, delivered him from the fear of any foreign enemy, and permitted him to employ his whole force againſt them, by depriving them of the means to create diſturbances by their intrigues. He reſtored their dominions to the different Nayre princes, on condition of an annual tribute, which he propoſed to demand, or to let accumulate, according to the ſituation of his affairs; and withdrew all his troops from the coaſt of Malabar.

The French commandant at Mahé, and the Dutch at Cochin, employed themſelves with effect, to terminate the difference between Ayder and the Nayre princes; and to their efforts it is that the coaſt of Malabar is indebted for peace.

An important diſcovery, totally unexpected by Ayder, and which was made ſoon after the concluſion of the truce with the Marattas, occaſioned an event that has induced many perſons in India to ſpeak againſt Ayder.

It was diſcovered that Nand Raja, ancient regent of Mayſſour, whom Ayder called his father, had joined with the Marattas and the Engliſh in the general conſpiracy againſt him. Nand Raja then reſided at Mayſſour, a fortreſs two leagues diſtant from Syringpatnam, the capital of the lands he held *en appanage*. Ayder was exceedingly embarraſſed, when he diſcovered this treachery: the great age of the prince made it improper to propoſe his marching againſt the Engliſh: to leave him in his reſidence, and to give the government of the kingdom of Mayſſour to another, would have excited his complaints, and might have furniſhed him with an occaſion to excite new troubles.

The

The pretence made uſe of by thoſe who irritated Nand Raja againſt Ayder was, that this laſt, after having conquered the kingdom of Canara, and fixed his reſidence at Nagar, ought not to have given the regency of Mayſſour to any one but Nand Raja: but, without conſidering the advanced age and incapacity of Nand Raja, which alone would have prevented him from taking that ſtep, he was reſtrained by his promiſe to the old dowager Dayva, who had always been the mortal enemy of her brother-in-law, and was apprehenſive of being ſubjected to his power. Ayder, in gratitude for the ſervices rendered him by that lady, could not conſent to diſpleaſe her in this reſpect; but as ſhe was the object of the pleaſantry of all the court, on account of the irregularity of her manners, it was whiſpered that Ayder made the old lady believe that Nand Raja demanded the government for the purpoſe of puniſhing her for the little reſpect ſhe bore to the laws, and the manes of her deceaſed huſband; by which means he obtained large ſums of her, either in the way of gift or loan; giving her likewiſe to underſtand, that he was diſtreſſed for money to pay the Maratta truce, and his alliance with Nizam; and it is likewiſe probable that he did not forget to ſay, that Nand Raja offered large ſums for the appointment of regent. Thus it was that Ayder, from motives of intereſt rather than policy, took a pleaſure in fomenting the diſcord between the brother and ſiſter-in-law. An opportunity preſented itſelf of doing this on the occaſion of the death of the king of Mayſſour. Nand Raja wrote to ſolicit the title of king for the younger ſon, in preference to the elder, who he affirmed was weak, and incapable of the office:

but his letter availed little with Ayder, who was ſolicited by the widow Dayva in favour of the elder: he wrote, in anſwer to both, that not being able at that time to attend any thing but the war with the revolted Nayres, he had given orders to Moctum Ali Khan, to place on the throne that prince, of the late king's ſons, whom he might think the moſt worthy to reign: he wrote ſecretly, by the ſame courier, to Moctum, to place the youngeſt on the throne. This proceeding, which, as may be readily imagined, excited the complaints of the widow Dayva, and of moſt part of the nobility of the kingdom, gave Ayder an opportunity, on his arrival at Syringpatnam, to make a parade of his equity, by giving the throne to the eldeſt. The whole buſineſs drew an additional ſum from the old lady, and created many enemies to Nand Raja, and perhaps to Moctum, who readily aſſiſted in all theſe artifices, through his unbounded attachment to his brother-in-law.

It not being practicable either to give Nand Raja the government of the kingdom, nor to remove him out of it, and ſtill leſs prudent to leave him diſcontented in the abſence of Ayder, a council was held on the buſineſs; the general advice was to ſecure his perſon, at leaſt during the abſence of the Nabob, and in the mean time to remove from him a Bramin, his brother-in-law, who gave him bad advice: but to this Ayder oppoſed the written promiſe he had made to the Raja, *never to make any attempt on his liberty, property, or life*, beſides the difficulty of arreſting that prince in his reſidence at Mayſſour, a place capable of ſtanding a ſiege, and where Nand Raja had upwards

upwards of two thouſand troops, forming, it muſt be confeſſed, the whole of his little army.

This affair being of ſuch a nature as to require a ſpeedy determination, it was agreed, that Ayder ſhould go the following morning in grand ceremony to Mayſſour, to make an honourable viſit to Nand Raja, and invite him to come and encamp with his little army in the iſland of Syringpatnam, in order to make his public entry into the capital in quality of viceroy, as Ayder was deſirous of inveſting him with that dignity before his departure: the viſit was accordingly made, and Nand Raja, at the height of his wiſhes, arrived with his family in the iſland, under the power of Ayder; who that very day, under pretence of exerciſing his troops in their evolutions, inveſted the little camp, and incloſed it in the night by detachments of infantry, who were ordered to ſuffer no one to paſs them, without firſt conducting him to the Nabob, to be queſtioned by him. As it had been difficult to perſuade Ayder to ſecure the old man, it was eaſy for Nand Raja to perceive that he was under guard, which put him into ſuch a rage againſt the Nabob, that he carried his views to an exceſs that might have been fatal to any other prince but Ayder.

The unfortunate Raja ſent a meſſenger to the Perſian writer, named Mirr Saeb, ſecretary to the French officer, and who had been charged with the letters to the governor of Pondicherry: his pretence was to enquire whether he could not procure from Pondicherry ſome crude ſalt of tartar and other European drugs; the Raja being a chemiſt, or rather alchemiſt, who had worked many years to diſcover the tranſmutation of metals, the Perſian being alone with Nand Raja and

the Bramin, the former propoſed to him to acquaint his maſter, that if he would aſſaſſinate Ayder, he (Nand Raja) would depoſit the value of eight lacs of rupees in gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, and elephants; the irritated old man being determined to ſtrip himſelf of all his property rather than not ſatisfy his vengeance againſt his ſuppoſed enemy: the project, he obſerved, was eaſy to be put in execution, becauſe the Nabob, on his return from the excurſion he made every two days, paſſed the night by the light of flambeaux before the camp of the Europeans; and nothing could prevent their ſeizing this inſtant, and ſhooting him by an aim taken from the inſide of one of the tents. The writer, according to his own account, not daring to ſhew the horror this propoſition made in his mind, promiſed to ſpeak on the ſubject to his maſter, and to give an anſwer the following day to a Bramin who was ſhewn to him; and who promiſed to wait at the gate of a ſmall pagoda indicated to him. The writer made haſte to inform his maſter of the interview he had had with the Raja, and the abominable commiſſion he was charged with: the officer after recovering from the indignation this baſe propoſition naturally produced, ordered him to keep the whole a profound ſecret *. Fortunately this officer had been one of the council, in which the affair of Nand Raja had been diſcuſſed; he knew, conſequently, that on that very

* The writer was not exact in his obedience, for he communicated the whole to Mirza Ali Naki, who had been commandant of Seapoys at Pondicherry under Meſſrs. Lally and Leyrit, a man of great merit, eſteemed by Ayder, and much attached to the French: he did not fail to acquaint the French officer of the indiſcretion of his ſecretary.

very day the Nabob was to decide whether Nand Raja ſhould be arreſted, and to direct in what manner it ſhould be done. The ſtorm that was ready to burſt on the head of Ayder did not permit the commandant to defer any longer the waiting upon him; he therefore went, with a determination either to conceal or relate what had come to his knowledge, according to the diſpoſition he might find Ayder in, with regard to arreſting Nand Raja: when he came into the preſence of the Nabob, that prince addreſſed him in private: "That old fool, Nand Raja," ſaid he, "has ſent for your Perſian ſecretary to give him a commiſſion to procure drugs from Pondicherry; Has the man mentioned it to you?" "Certainly," replied the French officer, "he has given me an account of his interview, and I cannot but adviſe you, after what I have heard, not to delay a moment in arreſting Nand Raja." "It is a decided ſtep," returned Ayder, "every thing is arranged for that purpoſe; he is to make his public entry the day after to-morrow into Syringpatnam, at the head of his troops. The ſtreets he paſſes through will be lined with grenadier Topaſſes, or Seapoys, and at the palace there will be placed an entire battalion: his troops will be arranged on the parade in readineſs to relieve the poſts as they are quitted by the grenadiers; Moctum has undertaken to diſarm the troops and all his people; and, leaving him only his women and a few domeſtics, will confine him in his own palace; and, ſince the old man is without abilities, and, no one can rely on him, every thing will be performed without trouble, before the cannon of the place ſalute Moctum, who will quit his government to-morrow. Send as many

Europeans into the town as you can, as cannoniers: let them enter by ſmall parties, and through the ſeveral gates, and unite, as if by curioſity, about the palace of Nand Raja. Do not go yourſelf, but command your officers to obey punctually the orders of Moctum, or his brother Iſmael Saeb."

The little attention paid by Ayder to the manner of the French officer when he inſiſted on arreſting of Nand Raja, ſhews how far he is from being inclined to ſuſpect thoſe who have gained his confidence.

This is not the only proof of the openneſs of his character, that Ayder has given the ſame officer: for that very night, after returning from the Dorbar *, being gone to reſt, he was informed from the prince that the chief uſher and ſword-bearer of the Nabob deſired to ſpeak with him on an affair of the laſt importance, which they could communicate to him in bed, without his getting up. Being introduced, they ſaid, "The guard which, as you know, is placed round the camp of Nand Raja, ſtopped one of your people, a ſhort time ago, coming from thence; and, though he ſaid he belonged to you, it was thought proper to conduct him to the Nabob, becauſe his orders on that head are very preciſe. The man, in paſſing by your guard, called for help; and the guard, knowing † him, took him out of the hands of his conductors, and ſet him free. The Nabob has therefore ſent us to beg you will ſend the

* The Dorbar is, properly ſpeaking, the council, or place where it is held; but the word is commonly uſed to denote the court.

† According to the privileges granted to the Europeans, all deciſions reſpecting juſtice, among them and their dependents, are made by themſelves.

the man, that he may be known by thoſe who arreſted him: he has alſo charged us to give you his word, that as ſoon as it is certain that he is one of your people, he will ſend him back, for you to do what you think proper with him."

The officer, much aſtoniſhed at this news, which he ſuppoſed to have ſome relation to the Perſian writer, ordered enquiry to be made of the guard, concerning the man they had liberated: to which his valet-de-chambre anſwered, "He is a black Peon *, whom I ſent to the camp of Nand Raja before midnight, to procure ſome manna, as I was informed that a druggiſt of that camp had ſome. This Peon, having met an acquaintance, amuſed himſelf till after midnight, knowing he was not wanted: on his return he was arreſted, which he ſuppoſed improper, on account of the protection of your bandalier he carried; he therefore called out as he paſſed your guard, and was ſet free." The officer ordered the Peon to be ſent for, and put him into the hands of the prince's officers, by whom he was conducted into the preſence. The guards immediately knew him, and Ayder was contented with aſking him this queſtion, "Did you come from Pondicherry with your maſter?" And on his replying in the affirmative, he ſent him back, and the affair was thus terminated.

On the day appointed, Nand Raja, without any miſtruſt, made a pompous entrance into Syringpatnam, at the head of his little army, the cannon firing, and the troops beating to arms, and ſaluting him. Being arrived at his palace,

* A Peon is a black ſervant, who carries a bandalier, with a plate or tablet of the arms of his maſter, and who runs before his palanquin.

his attention was taken up by the compliments of the great men of the city, who were admitted by few at a time, on the pretended account of not making too great a crowd. Moctum then entered the city, followed by a number of officers, and made a ſign to the troops, not to pay him any honours: he went directly to the palace of Nand Raja, where every one ſuppoſed he was going to pay his reſpects; and diſmounting, he cauſed the firſt company of the battalions of Seapoys who guarded the gate, to follow him. As ſoon as he came into the preſence of Nand Raja, who came to meet him, he acquainted him, that Ayder, being informed that he was ſurrounded by people who gave him bad advice, had ſent him to remove them from about him: at the ſame time he commanded all preſent to leave the palace, which was done without uttering a word; the grenadiers followed them; and Moctum remaining with Nand Raja, his two ſons and ſome officers, the converſation was carried on with the greateſt politeneſs. Moctum acquainted the two princes that they were to make the campaign; and that, inſtead of one father, they would find two in Ayder and himſelf. During this ſhort converſation, the women and all the family of Moctum were announced. Moctum took his leave, carrying the two princes with him, to whom he repreſented, that it became their dignity to wait upon the Nabob, and give him an account of all that had paſſed. Theſe young noblemen departed, accompanied by many of Moctum's officers; neither they nor Nand Raja expreſſing the leaſt aſtoniſhment or chagrin. After their departure, Moctum ſpoke a word to Nand Raja's general, who ordered his troop to ground their arms, which

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was done with great ſilence. All the gates and windows of Nand Raja's palace, that looked towards the ſtreet, were afterwards walled up, except the principal entrance; which is no great diſfigurement in an Indian palace, whoſe principal front lies towards the gardens. Then it was that Nand Raja, to the great ſatisfaction of the dowager Dayva, found himſelf ſhut up in his own palace. Ayder paid the arrears due to his troops, which, for the moſt part, enliſted among his own. On the valuation of the Raja's income, it was found to be equal to four lacs of rupees: two of which were allowed him for his own maintenance, and the other two were given to his ſons, who made the campaign with a brilliant equipage, under the conduct of their father's old general, who appears to have been in intelligence with Ayder in the tranſaction juſt related.

All the preparations for the campaign being made, the two armies began their march; that of Nizam took the road of Oſcota, and that of Ayder paſſed by the way of Benguelour.

When they had arrived, and encamped at the gates of this city, ſeveral councils were held, to determine on the operations, and take the neceſſary meaſures: Bazaletzing, Rocum Daulla, and ſeveral other chiefs, aſſiſted at theſe councils. It was agreed, that the two armies ſhould march always ſeparate, but at ſuch a diſtance as to aſſiſt each other in all their operations: that the army of Ayder ſhould take the avant-garde till they had paſſed the mountains: and that, when they had entered the kingdom of Arcot, it ſhould again be conſidered, whether it was the beſt to act ſeparately or conjointly.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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